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INDEX.

A.

Abolition of the Presidential Armies, 162.
Act, Mirzapur and the Arms, 198; The Indian Council's Amendment, 2, 67, 71, 98, 108, 194, 227.
Acts in India, The Contagious Diseases, 211, 293.
Administration of Lord Hastings, The, 120.
Adventures of a Volunteer in the Sepoy War, 88.
Africa, Indians in South, 270.
Agra, A New Guide to, 254.
Aggressions on the Indian Frontier, Further, 194.
Agrarian Legislation for the Deccan, 51.
Agrarian Perils in India, 199.
Agriculturalist's Relief Act, 57.
Allahábád Congress, Mr. Wacha's Speeches at the, 70.
Anti-opium Resolution, The, 206.
Application of Political Economy to India, The, 267.
Appointments in the Indian Police, Competition for, 94.
Armies' Bill, Madras and Bombay, 290.
Arnold, Sir E., at Poona, 312.
Assam, Bombay and, 99.
Assam Emigration Bill, The, 130.
Assam, Slavery in, 177, 328.
Auckland, Lord, 380.
Australian Statesman on India, An, 24.

B.

Banffshire Election, The, 97.
Banerjea, Mr. Surendra Nath, 147.
Baroda State, Judicial and Executive Functions in the, 376.
Behar Survey, The, 133, 172, 242, 339, 373.
Bengal and the Judicial Service, The Government of, 102, 130.
Bengal Council, Election of the President of the Congress to the, 166.
Bengal Jury Notification, Withdrawal of the, 143.
Bengal Municipalities, Sir Charles Elliott and, 35.
Bengal, the Separation of Executive and Judicial Services in, 245, 311.
Bengali Statesman, A, 347.
Bhang, Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., on, 19, 34.
Bibliography, 32, 63, 95, 127, 159, 191, 224, 256, 288, 320, 352.
Bombay Government, the Reactionaries in the, 164; *Land Revenue, The*, 215; Legislative Council Regulations, The, 151, 194, 203; The Parsee Victory at, 37; The Riots in, 257, 263, 292, 296, 321.
British Committee, 129; "At Home," 199.
British Empire in Sanskrit Verse, A History of the, 135.
Budget, The Indian, 67, 98, 163, 193, 205, 289, 327.

C.

Caine, W. S., M.P., on Bhang, 19, 34.
Calcutta Small Cause Court Job, The, 135.
Campbell's Memoirs, 279, 319.
Cantonments Question, The, 338, 367.
Case of Mr. M. M. Murzban, The, 331.
Caste, Muhammadans and, 70.
Census of 1891, The Indian, 115, 342, 378.
Chitral, 3.
Civil Service as a Profession, The Indian, 117; Competitive Examination for the Indian Covenanted, 101, 324; Service of India, The, 336; The Late Rájá and Rajendralala Mitra on Simultaneous Examinations in India and England for Admission to the, 207.
Civilians, Native, 4; The Statutary Indian, 104, 108.
Clive, Lord, 345.
Clubs and India, English Political, 134.
Colour, The Crime of, 229.
Commission on Indian Administration, A Royal, 230, 350; Commission of Inquiry, A, 68; The Bengal Jury, 99; The Opium, 250, 271, 289, 298, 313.
Competitive Examination for the Indian Covenanted Civil Service, 101, 324.
Congress, Mr. Wacha's Speeches at the Alláhábad, 70; The Eighth Session of the Indian National, 33, 39, 77; The Moderation of the Indian National, 6; At Lahore, The, 359.
Contagious Diseases Acts in India, The, 211, 293.
Cookery, Indian, 249.
Coolies for Tea Gardens, Recruitment of, 175.
Councils, Representation in the Provincial, 229.
Councils, The Provincial, 67.
Covenanted Civilians in their Province, Native, 36.
Criminal Justice in India, 148.
Crisis of 1893, The Financial, 167.
Currency Question, 208, 213, 249, 362.

D.

Death Rate in India, Irrigation and the, 196.
Debate on the Budget, The, 327.
Deccan, Agrarian Legislation for the, 165.
Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, The, 51.
Decision of the Indian Currency Question, The, 208.
Defence of India, The, 330.
Democracy and India, 129, 145.
Development of India, The Industrial, 133.
Diary, The Queen's Hindustani, 1.
Dictionary, A New Persian, 184.
Dilke, Sir C., on the Recent Memorandum, 273.
Dismissal of Native Officers, Summary, 100.
Documents, 108, 139, 169, 205, 234, 270.

E.

East and West, 182.
East India Company, The Early Days of the, 316.
Election of the President of the Congress to the Bengal Council, 166; The Banffshire, 97; The Lucknow, 231.
Elgin, Lord, 326.
Emigration Bill, Memorial on the Inland, 179.
Emigration Bill, The Assam, 130.
England's Duty to India, 101.
Epochs of Indian History, 135.
Erskine, Mr. C. T., The late, 204.
Examinations in England and India, Simultaneous, 65, 202, 207, 225, 257, 272, 337.

F.

Finance and Indian Mines, Indian, 106.
Financial Crisis of 1893, 167; Deficits and Military Expenditure, Mr. D. E. Wacha on Indian, 149; Incidents of April, 138.
Fiscal Interests, Indian, 352.
Folk-lore, Indian, 23.
Forced Labour in India, 195.
French in India, The, 381.
Frontier, Further Aggressions on the Indian, 194.
Frontier War and Travel, 253.

G.

Geography, Indian, 348.
Geological Survey Department, The, 131.
Gordon and the Opium Question, General, 134.

H.

Hastings, The Administration of Lord, 120.
Health Lectures for Indian Villages, 305.
Hemp, Indian, 5.
Hindu Law and Modern Systems, Ancient, 199.
Hindu-Mussulman Riots, The, 296.
Hindustani Diary, The Queen's, 1.
Historical Society, The Maine, 134.
History, Contemporary Indian, 317; Early Indian, 186; Epochs of Indian, 135; of India, A Students', 346; of our own Times, An Indian, 200; of the Indian Peoples, 55; of the British Empire in Sanskrit Verse, 135; Sir Alfred Lyall on Indian, 87.
Hoards of Silver, Mr. D. E. Wacha on Indian, 269, 309.
Honour's List, The New Year's, 34.
House of Commons, Votes and Proceedings of, 206.

I.

Imperial Institute, The, 162.
Incidents of April, Financial, 138.
India, and the Opium Question, 48, 80, 101, 112, 163; Councils Amendment Act, 2, 67, 71, 98, 108, 194, 227; Office List, 127; Office Patronage, 132; Railway Construction in, 333; The Defence of, 330; Democracy and, 129, 145; The Truth about, 277; "Past and Present," 378.
Indian Administration, A Royal Commission on, 230; Census of 1891, The, 115, 342; Civil Service as a Profession, The, 117; Council's Regulations, The, 113, 130, 139, 169; Empire, Hunter's, 118; Investment Features, 73; Universities, The, 266; Villages, Health Lectures for, 305; Question, How to Popularise the, 369.

Indiana, 1 f., 33 f., 65 f., 97 f., 129 f., 161 f., 193 f., 225 f., 257 f., 289 f., 321 f., 353 f.
Indictment of the Madras Revenue System, An, 233.
Industrial Development of India, The, 133.
Inquiry, A Commission of, 68.
Interpretation, The Right of, 67.
Institute, The Imperial, 162.
Irrigation and the Death Rate in India, 196.
Irrigation, Sind, 236.

J.

Jetalsar-Rajpot Railway, The, 202.
Judicial and Executive Functions in India, Separation of the, 209, 245.
Judicial Service, The Government of Bengal and the, 130.
Jury Question in Parliament, The, 66.
Jury, Trial by, in Bengal, 3, 7, 38, 66, 72, 99, 102, 112; Trials, Extension of, 229.
Justice in India, 166; Criminal, 148.

K.

Khan of Khalât, The, 164.
Kimberley, Lord, on Indian Affairs, 384.

L.

Labour in India, Forced, 195.
Lady Doctors for the Women of India, 37.
Land-Tenures of India, The, 22.
Law, Indian Political, 283.
Law and Modern Systems, Ancient Hindu, 199.
Laurence, Lord, 53.
Legislative Council Regulations, The Bombay, 151, 203.
Lieutenant-Governor, A Great, 282.
Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Auckland Calvin as, 37.
Life in India, Village, 344.
London Indian Society, The, 134.
London Letter, Our, 334, 363.
Lucknow Election, The, 231.

M.

Madras Land Revenue System, An Indictment of the, 233.
Madras Debating Club, A debate at the, 69, 99.
Maine Historical Society, The, 134.
Maimansingh, Case in the House of Lords, 162; Scandal, The, 35, 49, 65, 66, 81, 162.
Maps of India, 127.
Memorandum, Sir C. Dilke on the Recent, 273.
Memorial, on the Inland Emigration Bill, 179; to the late Mr. Yule, 200.
Military Adventurers, 20.
Military and Civil Expenditure, 227, 322; Military Expenditure, Mr. D. E. Wacha on Indian Financial Deficits and, 149.
Mines, Indian Finance and Indian, 106.
Mirzapore and the Arms Act, 198.
Missionary Letters, 57.
Moderation of the Indian National Congress, The, 6.
Mortality in the Punjab, 132.
Motion, An Unmoved, 275.
Muhammadans and Caste, 70.
Murzban, Mr. M. M., The Case of, 331; 384.
Mysore Parliament, The, 9, 265.

N.

Naoroji, Mr. Dadabhai, on his election, 17; Election to Parliament, 43; Departure to Congress, 353.
Native Civilians, 4.
Native Judge, Wanted: A, 332.
Native Officers, Summary Dismissal of, 100.
New Viceroy, The, 294.
Notification Withdrawn, The Jury, 112.

O.

Opium Commission, Mr. Caine and the, 259. 271, 289; Summary of Evidence, 298, 313; Question, India and the, 48, 80, 101, 112, 163; General Gordon on the, 134.
Ormond's, Mr., Appointment, Petition against, 143.
Our Own Times, An Indian History of, 200.

P.

Parliament, Formation of an Indian Party in, 241; India in, 360.
Parliament, The Mysore, 265.
Parsee Victory at Bombay, The, 371.
Patronage, India Office, 132.
Peerage, An Indian, 154.
Perils in India, Agrarian, 199.
Persian Dictionary, A New, 184.
Petitions against Mr. Ormond's Appointment, 143.
Petitions, 144.
Poem, An Indian Girl's, 201.
Police, Competition for Appointments in the Indian, 94; Recruitment of the Indian, 131; The Position of the, 130.
Political Clubs and India, English, 134.
Political Economy to India, The Application of, 267.
Political Law, India, 283.
Poona, Sir E. Arnold, at, 312.
Poona, The Native Girl's High School, at 5, 13.
Popularise the Indian Question, How to, 369.
Portuguese in India, The, 382.
Presidential Armies, Abolition of the, 162.
Progress, Sir W. W. Hunter on Indian, 68, 75.
Proposed Royal Commission, The, 351.
Provincial Councils, The. 67.

Q.

Question, The Cantonments, 338; The Currency, 213, 249.

R.

Railway Construction In India, 333.
Railway, The Jetalsar Rajkot, 202.
Ranade, Mr. Justice, 360.
Reactionaries in the Bombay Government, 164.
Recruitment of the Indian Police, 131,
Reformers, The Leaders of the Indian, 216.
Registration of Social Reform Associations, 198.
Regulations issued under the Legislative Councils Amendment Act, 108; The Indian Councils, 113, 130, 139; The Bombay Councils, 194.
Representation in the Provincial Councils, 229.
Representative Assembly, The Mysore, 9.
Resignation of Mr. Stephens, 304.
Resolution, The Anti-Opium, 206.
Riots in Bombay, The, 257, 263, 292, 296, 321, 332.

S.

Sad Story and its Sequel, A, 232, 293.
Sanscrit Dictionary, A New, 86.
Scandal, The Maimansingh, 49, 65, 66, 81, 162.
Scheme for the Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions in India, 209, 245, 311, 354; in Baroda, 377.
Simultaneous Examinations in England and India, 65, 202, 207, 225, 257, 272, 337.
Sind Irrigation, 236.
Silver, Mr. D. E. Wacha on Indian Hoards of, 269, 309.
Slavery in Assam, 177, 328.
Social Reform Associations, Registration of, 198.
Socialists Thoughts on India, An English, 84.
Society, The London India, 134.
Statesman, A Bengali, 347.
Statutory Indian Civilians, The, 104, 108.
Stephens, Mr., Resignation of, 304.
Students, Indian, in England, 373.
Survey Department of India, The Geological, 131.
Survey, The Behar Cadastral, 133, 172, 242, 339, 373.

T.

Tamil Poetry, 183.
Tata, Mr. J. N., Interview with, 362.
Tea Gardens, Recruitment of Coolies for, 175.
Telang, Hon. Justice, K.T., The Late, 290, 306,
Temperance, Scottish, 37.
Trial by Jury in Bengal, 3, 7, 38, 66, 72, 99, 102, 112.
Trials, Extension of Jury, 229.
Truth about India, The, 277.

U.

Universities, The Indian, 266.
Unmoved Motion, An, 275.

V.

Viceroy, The Next, 161, 322; The New, 294, 379.
Village Life in India, 334.

W.

Wanted, A Native Judge, 332.
Webb's, Mr., Resolution, 236.
West, East and, 182.
Withdrawal of the Bengal Jury Notification, 143.
Women of India, Lady Doctors for the, 37.

Y.

Yule, Memorial to the late Mr., 200.

INDEX TO SUPPLEMENT.

A.

Act, The Factory, in India, 52; The Indian Councils, 1 (March), 5 (March), 72; The Contagious Diseases, 30, 106, 144.
Advance on India, Russia's, 34, 107, 145.
Advance towards Afghanistan, The, 137, 138, 177.
Affairs in Haiderabad, 27.
Afghanistan, China and, 9 (March), The Advance towards, 137, 138.
Africa, Indian Reinforcements for South, 33.
Agra, The Water Supply in, 73, 110.
Agricultural Wealth and Taxation in India, 28, 139.
Amalgamation of the Indian Armies, The, 5 (March), 139.
Anglo-Indian Officials, 1 (April).
Anthrax, Vaccination for, 52.
Appointments, Indian Judicial, 28; in the Indian Police, 1 (April).
Army, Finance in England and India, 4 (March), 103.
Army Medical Officials, Indian, 46, 73, 138.
Army Commands, Indian, 109.
Armies Bill, Madras and Bombay, 39, 46, 60, 66, 116, 131, 138, 139, 140, 142, 143, 179.
Armies, The Amalgamation of the Indian, 5 (March).
Artillery Armament, Indian, 46, 73, 138.
Artillery, The Indian, 7 (April), 9 (April), 21.
Assam Tea Gardens, Coolie Labour in, 131.
Australia, Indian Colonists for, 1 (April).

B.

Baluchistan, Affairs in, 72.
Behar Survey, The, 108, 110, 111, 116, 134, 136, 139, 140, 141, 178, 179, 180, 181.
Benares, The Water Supply of, 32.
Bengal Judicial Officers, The Position of, 31.
Bengal, The Government of, 138, 139.
Bhopal and Ujjiain Line, The, 50.
Bill, Madras and Bombay Armies, 39, 46, 60, 116, 131, 138, 139, 140, 142, 143.
Bill, The Indian Coinage, 110.
Bimetallism, The Question of, 1 (April).
Bombay Government Appointment, A, 10 (March).
Budget, The Indian, 105, 107, 113, 139, 143.
Burmese Expeditions, The, 5 (March).

C.

Cable, The Mauritius-Zanzibar, 78.
Cachar District, The Condition of the, 78.
Cantonments, The Indian, 177.
Carriage for Indian Goods, German, 29.
Ceylon, The Fiscal System of, 86.
Charges upon Indian Revenues, Home, 98.
Chatterjea, Mr., The Case of, 30.
China and Afghanistan, 9 (March).
Cholera, Indian Fairs and the, 133.
Cholera, Inoculation of, 72, 101, 141.
Cholera, Outbreak at Murree, The, 9 (March).
Civil and Military Service, Sir H. Seymour King and the Indian, 22.
Civil Service Examinations, The Indian, 30, 60, 70, 74, 79, 83, 85, 105; Natives and the Indian, 60; Pensions, Bengal, 4 (March), 28; Promotion in the Bombay, 8 (April); The Indian, 30, 70, 133, 135.
Classification of the Telegraph Department, The, 45.
Colonists for Australia, Indian, 1 (April).
Commission, The Bengal Ganja, 73, 78, 103; The Indian Currency, 58; The Opium, 106, 109, 110, 132, 135, 139.
Compulsory Labour, 31.
Conference, Indian and the Monetary, 7 (April), 9 (April).
Contagious Diseases Acts in India, The, 30, 106, 144.
Contracts, War Office, 136.
Cotton Duties, 32, 76.
Councils Act, The, 1 (March), 5 (March), 72.
Crosthwaite's, Sir C., Circular, 178.
Currency, The Indian, 1 (March), 5 March), 8 (March), 9 (March), 7 (April), 22, 31, 33, 34, 58, 60, 71, 73, 76, 77, 79, 81, 82, 83, 85, 106, 108, 110, 111, 134, 139.

D.

Deccan Mining Company, The, 102.
Defences of Rangoon, The, 5 (March), 130.
Depreciation in the Rupee, The, 8 (April), 9 (April), 140.
Diplomatic Establishments, The Indian Contribution to Asiatic, 70.
Dismissed Revenue Officer, A, 180.
Drugs in Bengal, The Trade in Hemp, 5 (April), 57.
Duties, The Cotton, 32.

E.

East India Revenue Accounts, 145.
Emigrants to the West Indies, Coolie, 131.
Emigration to French Colonies, Coolie, 109.
Engineer's Memorials, Indian, 31.
Engineers' Pay, 109, 132.
Estimates, Civil Service, 34.
Eurasian Pauperism in Bengal, 6 (April).
Executive and Judicial Functions, 48.
Expenditure, Indian Military, 29, 103.

F.

Factories, Women's Labour in Indian, 8 (April).
Factory Act in India, The, 52.
Form in the Rupee, The, 22, 140.
Famine Prevention, Indian, 29.
Female Underground Labour in India, 8 (March), 7 (April).
Finance in England and India, Army, 4 (March).
Finance, Indian, 51, 52.
Finance Ministry, 31.
Fiscal System of Ceylon, The, 87.
Fischer, General, The Case of, 110.
Fish Curing on the Kanara Coast, 50.
Floods in Kurrachi, 143.
Forest Department, The Indian, 86.
Franklin, Col. Surgeon, The Case of, 76.
Frontier, Fighting on the Indian, 8.
Furlough Pay in the Indian Service, 50, 102.

G.

Gaya, Distress in, 72.
German Carriage for Indian Goods, 29.
Government Appointment, A Bombay, 10 (March).
Grain Dealing in the Punjab, 34.

H.

Haidarabad, Affairs in, 27, 132, 134, 180.
Health of Rangoon, The, 76.
Hemp Drugs in Bengal, The Trade in, 5 (April), 57.
Hook Swinging, in Madras, 4 (March), 179.
Hospital Doctors, Indian Army, 46, 73.

I.

Imperial Institute, Indian Troops at the, 50.
Increase of Opium Smoking, The, 3 (March).
India Office Store Department, The, 29.
Indian Currency, The, 1 (March), 5 (March), 8 (March), 9 (March), 7 (April), 22, 31, 33, 34, 58, 60, 71, 73, 77, 79, 81, 82, 83, 85, 106, 108, 110, 111, 134, 139.
Indian Opium Traffic, The, 1 (March), 7 (April).
Inoculation of Cholera in India, 72, 101, 141.
Irrigation Project, The Periyar, 104.

J.

Joynt, The Case of Surgeon, 79.
Judicial Appointments, Indian, 28.
Judicial Functions, Executive and, 79.
Jury in Bengal, Trial by, 1 (March), 2 (March), 4 (March), 8 (March), 9 (March), 10 (March), 1 (April), 5 (April), 9 (April), 57, 141.

K.

Kachins, The Operations against the, 9 (March), 6 (April), 8 (April).
Kanara Coast, Fish Curing on the, 50.
Karum River, The Navigation of the 101.
Karlad, Mr., The Case of, 28, 106.
Kimberley's Salary, Lord, 6 (March), 135.
King, Sir H. Seymour and the Indian Civil and Military Services, 22.
Kurrachi, Floods in, 143.

L.

Labour in India, Female Underground, 8 (March), 7 (April).
Labour in Indian Factories, Women's, 8 (April).
Land Revenue, The Indian, 29.

Lascar Crews on Indian Troopships, 6 (April).
Lascar Mutiny in the Thames, The, 73.
Leprosy in India, 8 (March).
Load-line Regulations in Indian Ports, 72, 73.
Loads of Indian Troopships, The, 7 (April).

M.

Madras, Professorships at, 6 (April).
Magazine Rifle in India, The, 21.
Maimansingh Scandal, The, 8 (March).
Memorials, Indian Engineers' 31.
Mercantile Bank of India Bill, The, 31.
Mergui Pearl Fisheries, The, 8 (March).
Military Commands, Indian, 34.
Military Expenditure, Indian, 29, 83.
Mining Company, The Deccan, 102.
Ministry, The Indian Finance, 31.
Misappropriation, Serious Charge of, 102.
Monetary Conference, India and the, 7 (April), 9 (April).
Murree, The Cholera Outbreak at, 9 (March), 86.
Murzban, The Case of Mr., 78.
Mutiny in the Thames, The Lascar, 73.
Mutiny Veterans, The Indian, 5 (March), 9 (March), 10 (March), 10 (April), 32, 57, 59.

N.

Nagpur Memorial, The, 57.
Navigation of the Karun River, 101.
Noble, Colonel, The Case of, 133.

O.

Officials, Anglo-Indian, 1 (April).
Operations against the Kachins, The, 9 (March), 6 (April), 8 (April).
Opium by Children, The use of, 4 (March), 71.
Opium Commission, 109, 110, 132, 135, 139, 141.
Opium Smoking, 6 (April), 21, 32.
Opium Traffic, The Indian, 1 (March), 7 (April), 86, 103, 106.

P.

Pauperism in Bengal, Eurasian, 6 (April).
Pearl Fisheries, The Mergui, 8 (March).
Pensions, Bengal Civil Service, 4 (March).
Pensions for Indian Mutiny Veterans, 10 (March), 130.
Pensions, Income Tax on, 8 (April).
Pensions, Indian Civil Service, 28.
Periyar Irrigation Project, The, 104.
Perjury, Indian and English, 21.
Police, Appointments in the Indian, 1 (April), 143.
Prevention, Indian Famine, 29.
Professorships at Madras, 6 (April).
Promotion in the Bombay Civil Service, 8 (April).
Promotion in the Indian Telegraph Department, 10 (March).
Provinces, The North-West, 8 (March).
Public Works Department, Offices in the, 132.
Public Works, India, 52.
Punishments, Bengal Gaol, 81.
Punjab, Grain Dealing in the, 34.

R.

Railway Securities, Indian, 8 (April), 178.
Rangoon, The Defences of, 5 (March), 130.
Rangoon, The Health of, 76.
Rating Questions, Indian, 32.
Regulations in Indian Ports, Load-line, 73.
Reinforcements for South Africa, Indian, 33.
Religious Riots, The Late, 137, 138, 140, 178.
Religious Self Torture in Madras 4, (March).
Report, The Decennial, 112.
Revenue Accounts, East India, 145.
Revenue, The Indian Land, 29.
Revenues of India, The, 33, 46, 98.
Rifle in India, The Magazine, 21.
Riots, The Hindu Mussulman, 137, 138, 140.
Rupee, The Value of, 1 (March), 8 (April), 9 (April), 22, 105, 140.
Russian Works in Persia, 77.
Russia's Advance on India, 3 (April), 54, 107.

S.

Salary, Lord Kimberley's, 6 (March), 135.
Salt Tax, The Indian, 30, 107.
Scandal, The Maimansingh, 8 (March).
Securities, Indian Railway, 8 (April).
Shooting a Railway Gatekeeper, 181.
Silver Question, The, 103, 109, 113, 117.
Simultaneous Examinations in England and India, 60, 74, 178, 179.
Smoking, Opium, 3 (March), 6 (April), 21, 32, 71.
Staff Corps Offices, Indian, 33.
Standard for India, A Gold, 105.
Standard, Monetary, The, 112.
Store Department, The India Office, 29.
Survey, The Behar, 108, 110, 111, 116, 134, 136, 139, 140, 141.

T.

Tax on Pensions, Income, 8.
Tax, The Indian Salt, 30, 107.
Taxation of Temples in Benares, The, 131.
Taxation in India, Agricultural Wealth and, 28, 138.
Tea Gardens, Coolie Labour in Assam, 131.
Telegraph Department, Classification in the, 45; Promotion in the Indian, 10 (March), 51; The Indian, 51, 133.
Trial by Jury in Bengal, 1 (March), 2 (March), 4 (March), 8 (March), 9 (March), 10 (March), 1 (April), 6 (April), 9 (April), 57, 141.
Trial by Jury in India, 31, 52, 141.
Trincomalee, The Port of, 71.
Troop Ships, Indian, 9 (April), 83; Lascar Crews on, 6 (April); The Loads of Indian, 7 (April).

V.

Vaccination, 59, 104, 106.
Vaccination for Anthrax, 59.
Value of the Rupee, The, 1 (March), 8 (April), 9 (April), 22, 105, 140.
Vessels, The Load Draft of Indian, 72.
Veterans, The Indian Mutiny, 5 (March), 9 (March), 10 (March), 10 (March), 32, 57, 59.

W.

War Office Contracts, 136.
Water Supply of Benares, The, 32; in Agra, The, 73, 116.
Wunthoo District, Operations in the, 7 (April).

Z.

Zhob Valley Expedition, The, 78.

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CONTENTS:

	PAGE.
INDIANA: Paragraphs on Indian Topics	1
The Moderation of the Indian National Congress	6
Trial by Jury in Bengal	7
The Mysore Representative Assembly: An Object Lesson in Indian Local Self-Government	9
THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS—The British Committee: Letter to the Secretary of State for India on the Bengal Municipalities Amendment Act	11
Memorial of Friends of Female Education in India to the Secretary of State for India on behalf of the Poona Native Girls High School	12
Letter of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., to the Indian National Congress	15
MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI, M.P., on his Election	17
MR. W. S. CAINE, M.P., on Bhang!	19
REVIEWS: European Military Adventures of Hindustan ..	20
The Land-Tenures of India	22
Indian Folk-Lore	23
An Australian Statesman on India	24
THE VOICE OF INDIA: Selections from the Indian Press ..	26
THE VOICE OF ENGLAND ON INDIA: Selections from the English Press on Indian Matters	28
GOSSIP: About Persons and Books	30
Scheme of an Indian Monthly Bibliography	32

Indiana.

THE QUEEN'S HINDUSTANI DIARY.

The Queen-Empress has ever taken the keenest interest in the prosperity of her Indian subjects. The noble words of the great Proclamation, which is the first title-deed of the liberties of the Indian people, were written by her own hand. Within the last three years she has devoted much of her valuable and well-filled time to learning Hindustani under the superintendence of the Munshi Hafiz Abdul Karim, who is attached to her Court. She has made such progress that she is now able to keep a Hindu[stani] diary, on which a most interesting artic[le], adorned with facsimiles, has been writte[n by] Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad, and is published in [the] Christmas number of the *Strand Magazine*. I[t was] stated further in the *Daily Chronicle* that H[er] Majesty was led to study Hindustani in order to b[e] able to converse in their own tongue with such Indian ladies, speaking Hindustani, as might visit her in England. However culpably neglectful Parliament may be of Indian matters, there is no doubt that the English Royal Family is keenly interested in India. The royal princes all maintain most agreeable recollections of the enthusiastic loyalty shown by the people and princes during their visits, and it may be taken for granted that it is not due to any remissness on the part of Her Majesty that Indian questions have not received the careful and immediate attention they demand. It will be another link in the bond of personal attachment to the person of the Queen-Empress, when the people of India know that she is assiduously studying one of their languages and has attained considerable proficiency in it. Would that her noble example were followed by English statesmen, and that they possessed the same sense of responsibility to India as their august sovereign!

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI, M.P.

It gave me profound pleasure when Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., promised to let me have an article from his experienced pen for the first number of the new series of INDIA. I felt it would give the journal in its new form an admirable start, and I was proud to think that I had been able to secure his active co-operation. But, alas! for me — Mr. Naoroji's time has been so much occupied with the trouble of his election petition and his numerous engagements, that I had not the courage to persist in my personal demand upon his time. He was, however, good enough to hold a long conversation with me, and to request me to embody the purport of that conversation in an article. He has also read the proof, and the article is in all essential points his, though written by my pen. It was delightful to find that his success has in no way altered him, and that he is the same modest unassuming man, concealing beneath his gentle exterior the indomitable persistence which has brought him victory, that he always was. His one anxiety is that his physical powers may enable him to do good work both for his constituents in Central Finsbury and his more numerous constituents in India.

THE NEXT VICEROY.

With the selection of Sir George White as Commander-in-Chief the people of India has little concern. It is only to be hoped that his long

residence on the Balúchistán frontier has not made him a devotee of the "forward" policy in the North-West. It is worth remembering that his appointment is hailed as a victory won by the India Office over the War Office, in view of his future conduct. But the choice of a new Viceroy is a very different thing. It is of the utmost importance to the Indian people that Lord Lansdowne's successor shall be a man with courage to examine questions of policy for himself, to free himself from the influence of officials, and to consult the recognized leaders of native opinion. All sorts of rumours are in the air. Lord Cromer, who as Sir Evelyn Baring was Lord Northbrook's finance minister, and who has since done great things in Egypt, is freely mentioned; for it is hoped that his financial ability may enable him to solve the serious problems caused by the falling value of the rupee. There is also talk of a military officer being appointed, though no general has ruled India since the Governor-Generalship of Lord Hardinge from 1844 to 1848, on the ground that sweeping reductions must be made in military expenditure, and that a soldier is the most suitable man for such work. The precedents set by the appointments of Lord Dufferin and Lord Lansdowne cause the name of Lord Stanley of Preston also to be put forward. Mr. Gladstone is rumoured to favour the appointment of Lord Reay, who has had Indian experience as Governor of Bombay, and Mr. Schwann, M.P., a true friend of India, in a recent speech at Wycombe, suggested the name of Lord Carrington, who won for himself great popularity as Governor of New South Wales. Whoever may be selected, it may be hoped he will be a strong man, able to think and judge for himself.

THE INDIAN COUNCILS' AMENDMENT ACT.

The authorities in India have been placed by the Indian Councils' Amendment Act in a somewhat difficult position. They are required, if possible, to see themselves as others see them. This main object of the Act is set forth in the last Queen's Speech. Her Majesty says: "I have willingly accepted a measure "for improving the constitution and proceedings of "the Legislative Councils in India, which will, I "trust, enable my Government in that country more "fully to ascertain the opinions and wishes of the "various races and classes of my subjects." In other words, the Councils are to be enlarged and strengthened by bringing in representatives who will be able and willing to tell the Government what the people really think. The opinions of the people may or may not be correct; their wishes may or may not be reasonable. What is needed is to ascertain what these opinions and wishes really are. The one great thing is that the British Government in India should not continue to live in a fool's paradise. And accordingly the Viceroy and Governors are directed to call into their Councils men who will be prepared, if necessary, to tell them disagreeable truths.

HOW TO MAKE THE ACT A SUCCESS.

Now, what is the natural way to ascertain the opinions and wishes of a large body of people? All cannot be heard at once. Evidently they must put forward some of their number to speak on their behalf. This is the elective method; applicable even in the case of a noisy disorganised mob; much more so when dealing with an ancient and highly organized civilisation like that of India. The Indian people have already expressed themselves on the question of election in every way open to them. In the Press, by memorials and deputations, by the voice of the Indian National Congress, they have urged the recognition of the elective principle as the only true one. Secondly, looking to the vast and varied interests to be represented, they ask that the maximum number of non-official members allowed by the Act should be appointed. Lastly, the different Provinces vary greatly as regards political and social progress; so that what could be good for one Province might be quite unsuitable for another. It is therefore absolutely essential that local requirements should be studied; and that, before making any recommendation to the Secretary of State for carrying the Act into effect, each administration should take local public opinion into its confidence as to the details of any proposed scheme.

WILL INDIAN GOVERNORS RISE TO THE OCCASION?

The House of Commons has, by this Act, solemnly entrusted to each of our highest officials in India the duty of framing a scheme which shall give a free and full hearing to the popular voice. The duty cannot be altogether an agreeable one to men whose power hitherto has been almost irresponsible. Will they rise to the occasion? Will they work out practical and popular measures which will settle this burning question for the next 20 years? Or will they allow the official cliques to evolve from their inner consciousness schemes which will give profound dissatisfaction to those interested? The standing reproach to the administration in India is that its sympathies are bureaucratic, and that it is out of touch with the people. Now is the opportunity to disprove this charge; or to confirm it. The Viceroy and local Governors are being closely atched. And it is certain that no proposals will ve satisfaction to the Indian public, or should be pted by the House of Commons, unless (1) they stantially recognise the principle of popular ction; unless (2) they provide for the maximum umber of non-official members; and unless (3) in framing them local public opinion has been fully and freely consulted.

THE VICEROY AND THE ACT.

In this connection it is right to quote the remarks made by Lord Lansdowne on the subject at Madras. The passage is significant both for what is said and what is left unsaid, and the frank recognition of the value of the representative principle deserves special notice, as well as the hint that the rights of minorities are to be regarded. "I notice with pleasure," said the Viceroy, "the statement that you loyally "accept the measure of reform in the Indian Legis- "lative Councils recently enacted by the British

"Parliament. We are now engaged in the con-"sideration of the rules and regulations to be issued "under the new Act. In such cases it is natural "there should in some quarters be a desire to move "farther and faster than in others, and I am quite "prepared to find that our proposals are criticised "both as tending towards mischievous and far-"reaching innovations, and also as disappointing and "reactionary. I am, however, confident they will "be found to add to the usefulness of the Councils and "to their value as representative institutions. Of "your suggestions I should like to notice that in "which you express the hope that for the purpose "of selecting members of Council we shall make use "of the only bodies constituted on a statutory basis, "excluding voluntary associations. I feel bound to "tell you that in my opinion the exclusion of all "such bodies involving as it would the denial of "representation to some of the most important in-"terests in the Indian community, merely because they "happen to be without a statutory organization, "would be a serious act of injustice, and one for "which we should, in my opinion, properly be taken "to task."

THE EIGHTH SESSION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The exigencies of printing, and the necessity for having the first number of the new series of INDIA ready on 1st January, 1893, prevents me from doing more than allude to the Eighth session of the Congress, which will have been held before these pages appear. However, the second number will be essentially a Congress number, and will contain the text of the resolutions passed. But I can say that every preparation seems to have been made to secure the comfort of the delegates, who will come from all parts of India to Allahábád, and to ensure the success of the meeting. The Reception Committee, under the presidency of Pundit Bishumbhar Nath, has worked vigorously, and the Eighth Congress will be worthy of its predecessors. It is most unfortunate that the Central Finsbury election petition has prevented Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., from being present, for he would have met with an enthusiastic welcome. As it is the Congress must be content with sending him their hearty congratulations, and must hope to see him next year. I hope the leaders of Congress are aware that their proceedings are being watched in England with increasing interest and sympathy every year, and that it will live up to the high reputation it has gained for statesmanlike ability.

CHITRAL.

Surely there was never made more ado about nothing than the excitement which has been worked up about Chitral. A glance at the map will show how far in advance Chitral is from the recognized frontier of India. The forward party seem to think that they have at last got a valid excuse for pushing right into Central Asia. It would seem that they were anxious to meet the Russians instead of desiring to leave a broad belt between the Russians and British India. The 'forward' party have had a long day; surely it is time that their wings were clipped and an attempt made to recur as far as possible to the prudent policy of Lord Lawrence. India is being ruined while these costly reconnaissances are being made. As to Chitral itself, it is no more worthy of serious consideration than the little hill state in which Mr. Rudyard Kipling's amusing "Namgay Doola" disported himself, and curiously enough it marches with the mysterious region of Kafiristan, in which "The Man who would be a "King" and his faithful henchman met with their surprising adventures. It is the position of Chitral, and the evidence which interference there presents of the activity of the forward military party in the Government of India, that demands close attention from the friends of the Indian people.

TRIAL BY JURY IN BENGAL.

In a subsequent article the contention of Sir Charles Elliott that in practically abolishing trial by jury in Bengal he is acting in harmony with the whole of the judicial authorities in the Province is disproved and the retrograde character of his monstrous measure indicated. I also print representative opinions on the question from the English and Native Press. But here I would lay weight on the numerous important meetings, which are being held not only in Bengal, but all over India to protest against the unjustifiable action of the Lieutenant-Governor. If ever there were a subject which needed to be thrashed out in the Legislative Council and not settled by the autocratic will of a single official it would be this, and Sir Charles Elliott's action only shows how necessary it is that the sphere of the Legislative Councils should be extended and defined. What the opinion of a representative legislature would be, it is easy to perceive from the unanimous tone of the public meetings on the question. I am not going to assert that trial by jury is a perfect means of securing justice. Many great authorities have pointed out flaws in its working in England and France. It was by juries that the atrocities of the Popish Plot scare of Titus Oates and of Judge Jeffreys' tour in the western counties of England were perpetrated; and stories of the stupidity or misplaced wit of English and more especially of Irish juries are proverbial. But what I do assert is that Indians, no more than Englishmen, should hold their rights at the mercy of the executive government. And further that the jury system should be looked on, not as an infallible means of doing justice—though experience has shown that judges may be prejudiced just as often as jurors—but as a guardian of the liberties of the people and a great educational lesson in freedom and self-government. It has been this and more in England; why should it not be equally valuable in India?

RUMOURED DEFENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT.

I hear from the very best source of information in Calcutta, that the Government of India, in reply to a telegraphic request from Lord Kimberley, has stated that all that has been done is to assimilate

the system of trial by jury in Bengal to that prevailing in Madras and Bombay. This is a shameless attempt to hoodwink the Secretary of State. Trial by jury extends over the whole of the Madras Presidency, and only obtains in seven Districts in Bengal. But in Madras it is limited to offences relating to property. Had trial by jury been extended on the same terms to the whole of Bengal, it would have been some compensation for its curtailment in the Districts where it already exists—though a poor one. But nothing of the sort has been done. Its scope has been diminished, while its area has not been extended. The House of Commons must be ready to meet this official reply when questions are asked on the subject in Parliament—and must be ready to denounce its falsity.

SIR C. ELLIOTT AND THE BENGAL MUNICIPALITIES.

SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT seems determined to distinguish his Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal by retrograde steps. His conduct with regard to the municipalities in the Bengal Mofussil is as reactionary as his unwarrantable attack on the jury system. I print elsewhere a letter from the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, to the Secretary of State for India, which puts the matter in a clear and convincing light. But anyone who wishes to understand the full effect of the proposed amendment of the Bengal Municipal Act of 1884, and the reactionary step which it is proposed to take cannot do better than study the proceedings at a great meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall on 3rd September last, when the measure was considered by the men of light and leading of Bengal. A limited number of copies of the report of this meeting, reprinted from *The Statesman and Friend of India* can be obtained from the offices of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W. It is impossible to sum up the eloquent speeches made in a few lines, but the opening words of the chairman, Mahárájá Bahádur Jagadindra Nath Roy, are so weighty that I am tempted to reproduce them. "I "believe there can be no difference of opinion," he said, "as to the real tendency of the Municipal Bill. "I need hardly observe that the whole country was "ill-prepared to receive this Bill after so many years "of success in the field of Local Self-Government. "The principle of Local Self-Government, as de-"veloped by His Excellency the Most Noble the "Marquess of Ripon, was received by the people "and the authorities as an instrument of political "and popular education. That principle, gentlemen, "was not entirely foreign to the people of this "country. Local Self-Government, in some form "or other, constituted the very backbone of the "village-system in ancient India. Although our "metropolitan towns and great cities of modern "growth have undergone some change with the "change of times, our villages are still very much "the same that they were centuries ago. The in-"troduction of the principle of Local Self-Govern-"ment therefore found in the people a ready and "natural support."

THE NAWÁB MEHDI HASSAN.

The letter of the Nawáb Mehdi Hassan, until recently a minister of the Nizam, to the *Times* traversing Mr. Hume's statements was received with such a pæan of applause that it would be unkind to triumph over those English writers, who pinned their faith to such a broken reed. The scandals about their champion which are being investigated, and his dismissal from the Nizam's service, must be a bitter blow to the journalists who, on the strength of Mehdi Hassan's assertions, declared him to be a great statesman, who knew more about the condition of the people of India than the experienced members of the Indian National Congress. It is never pleasant to trample on a fallen foe, so I will not enter into the unsavoury details of the Mehdi Hassan scandal; but I cannot resist the temptation of mentioning that the distinguished statesman, as he was generally called by the anti-Congress press in England, now stands in a very different position to that which he occupied when he wrote his famous letter to the *Times*.

THE VICEROY ON FORESTS.

The terrible evils caused by the stringent forest administration in India gave rise to one of the most interesting debates at the last session of the Indian National Congress at Nagpur. It seems that the representations of the Congress have had a considerable effect, and I hope that the Viceroy will insist upon the Forest Departments in the different Provinces acting upon the lines laid down in a speech he made at Mysore. "I will ask you," said Lord Lansdowne "to remember that not only here, "but in all parts of the country, the Government "of India has no desire to administer forests except "for the benefit of the population adjoining them. "It is our object that forest administration should "be conducted with the utmost regard to the com-"fort and convenience of the cultivators, but unless "proper measures are taken to protect the forests "of India from destruction, the country as a whole "will suffer greatly. In some parts of India the "injury done is already irretrievable, but where "forests still exist we are determined to manage "them as trustees for the whole community, and "nothing is further from our intentions than to "encourage anything like arbitrary or oppressive "treatment of persons possessing grazing rights "or otherwise entitled to the use of forest products." If the officials of the Forest Department would only recollect that they are trustees, not owners, administrators, not revenue-earners, one of the greatest grievances in India would be speedily removed.

NATIVE CIVILIANS.

It is worthy of note that four out of the thirty-two candidates selected for the Indian Civil Service under the new regulations fixing an increased maximum of age are natives of India—a most encouraging proportion. These are Messrs. Francis Xavier, D'Sousa, Janendra Nath Gupta, Kiran Chandra Dé and John Joseph Platel, who passed 14th, 17th, 19th and 26th respectively. These successful candidates are equally

divided between the two great English Universities, Messrs. D'Sousa and Dé being Cambridge men, and Messrs. Gupta and Platel members of Balliol College, Oxford.

INDIAN HEMP.

Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., has kindly sent me an article for my first number of India on *bhang*, one of the names for a form of intoxicant made from hemp. He has proved up to the hilt the evils arising from hemp-drugs, which are far more serious and more horrible than those resulting from the continued use of alcohol or opium. His remarks are well illustrated by an interesting letter from Mr. F. Wyer, late of the Indian Civil Service, which appeared in the *Times* for 18th November on *ganja*, another form of hemp drug. Mr. Wyer's aim seems to be to point out that opium is comparatively innocuous compared to hemp. I am not concerned here to defend that view, but wish to quote this testimony of an experienced official as to the awful effects of a drug, manufactured and sold under the superintendence of the Bengal Government. "*Ganja*," says Mr. Wyer, "is an excitant of the "most powerful description, leading to violent "crime, to acute mania of homicidal tendency, and "is the most frequent cause of chronic insanity. ". . . . . Of the 2,202 persons admitted into five "lunatic asylums of Lower Bengal during the last "ten years, 641 cases were due to the use of *ganja*, "117 to the use of spirits, and 8 to the use of "opium." All interested in the working of the Indian Excise Laws and Regulations should read *Abkari*, the brightly written and vigorously edited quarterly organ of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association.

THE POONA NATIVE GIRLS HIGH SCHOOL.

I print elsewhere the Memorial which was presented to Lord Kimberley on 22nd November deprecating the withdrawal of Government support from the Poona Native Girls High School with the remarkable list of the signatories to the Memorial. It may be doubted if a more brilliant array of names of friends of India and friends of female education could possibly have been brought together. I print also the Memorandum on which the Memorial was based. Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., introduced the deputation, and Sir W. W. Hunter, K.C.S.I., Mr. Justice Jardine, of the Bombay High Court, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., and Bai Rakhmabai also addressed the Secretary of State for India. Lord Kimberley's reply to the deputation was sympathetic and reasonably encouraging. In the course of it he said: "I should "desire this High School to be fostered in every "possible way, and I am quite certain that it is of "very high merit and deserves the full support of the "Government. But the question is simply whether "if the grant is continued at its full amount, other "educational efforts will not be starved. It is a "matter in which a choice must be made, and "whether the Bombay Government have chosen "wisely or not I am not in a position to say. I "will certainly send on your Memorial to the "Bombay Government and ask for their observa-"tions upon it; and if they can continue their "support to this school, I hope they will do it. "But I can go no further than that; though in any "observations I have made I hope you will not "think I am insensible of the importance of "encouraging female education in India."

FEMALE EDUCATION IN MYSORE.

During the vice-regal visit to Mysore in November, the Marchioness of Lansdowne delivered the prizes at the Mahárání's Girls' School. The munificence of the ruler of Mysore in the encouragement of female education contrasts favourably with the proposed withdrawal of Government support from the Native Girls' High School at Poona. Mr. P. Chentsal Ráo, in a sensible address to Her Excellency, described the aim of the school in the following words: "The school was started by Her Highness "the Mahárání in 1882, not for the purpose of "qualifying women to tunnel mountains, or to make "laws, or to make money, but to make them good "directors of home-power—a power which we all "know it is beyond our means to keep from them, "and which they exercise upon us, when ignorant, "with all the power of a despot, but which, when "they are enlightened, they use most beneficially, "as our merciful Mahárání has done, inducing His "Highness the Mahárájáh to take such active and "deep interest in the cause of the education and "regeneration of her sisters."

INDIAN STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION.

I am requested to draw attention to the good work done by the Indian Students' Association at Edinburgh. The Association was founded in order to give information to Indians, wishing to come to Europe to complete their studies, as to the length of time required, cost of living, etc., and to assist students in starting on their University career in England or Scotland. Its affairs are managed by two committees, one in London and the other in Edinburgh, and it has corresponding members in all the University towns in Great Britain. On receiving timely notice, members of the Association undertake to meet new comers on their arrival, to help them to find comfortable apartments and to render them every possible personal assistance. This work is done without any remuneration. In the words of a circular just issued: "It is purely a labour of "love; the desire to utilise our experience for the "benefit of our fellow-countrymen is the chief object "of our Association." But in pursuance of their patriotic wishes and philanthropic schemes, the Edinburgh Committee of Management ask for help in making the objects of the Association better known, its working more effective and its foundation more stable. To all who are acquainted with the peculiar difficulties and dangers which beset Indian students on their arrival in this country, this effort of the Indian Students' Association must appear

most laudable, and I am glad to have an opportunity of drawing attention to it. The Committee of Management consists of five students chosen as representing Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces, and the name and address of the Hon. Secretary is Mr. Sarat Mullick, the University Union, Edinburgh.

PERSONAL.

I am deeply touched at the kind words with which most of the Indian journals, whose opinions I share and respect, have received my appointment as editor of India. It was not without considerable reluctance that I abandoned a career of historical research and the pursuit of literary fame for the domain of controversial politics. I was also conscious of the drawback caused by my want of actual knowledge of India. Though most of my relatives have spent their lives in India, and it was the dream of my youth to follow their example, unavoidable circumstances have kept me in England. I have, however, had the advantage of being trained in Indian questions and in the consideration of Indian problems by the greatest living authority upon those subjects, and I may claim to have devoted much of my attention for many years to India. But nothing can really compensate for personal knowledge, and it is my hope before long to visit India and to make the personal acquaintance of the most distinguished leaders of Indian public opinion. My personal ignorance of the country will perhaps be of advantage in allowing me to discuss Indian matters without any bias towards any particular class or province, and to consider Indian questions as they affect the whole country. I need hardly add that no personal endeavour will be wanting on my part to make the new series of India a real power in Indian matters.

H. Morse Stephens.

THE MODERATION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The most usual accusation made against the Indian National Congress is that the Indian reformers, when in Congress assembled, advocate extravagant and impossible reforms. Some blatant and ignor nt persons have been heard to state that the Congress is disloyal to the Queen-Empress, and desires abruptly to put an end to the English administration in India. With such people it is impossible to argue, for their audacity of mis-statement is only equalled by their effrontery when confronted with facts. Many are bitten by what may be termed the "Bengali Babu Mania" which persists in seeing in every supporter of Indian reform the typical Bengali of fiction, an impossible person constructed by a vivid imagination out of imperfect knowledge. It is useless to argue with these stricken ones, or to assure them that Muhammadans, Jains, Sikhs, Parsis, Maráthás, Madrasis, Jews and Christians, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, both European and Native, attend the yearly meetings of the Congress. They refuse to believe, and prefer to retain their preconceived idea that the Indian National Congress is a movement organized by a few seditious but talkative Bengalis. Argument is lost against such wilful and headstrong opponents who persist in closing their eyes to the truth.

But there are many persons who, while they discard such absurdities as these, yet state positively that the Indian National Congress supports utterly impracticable schemes, and demands impossible reforms. These people speak in perfect good faith; they are led away by a preconceived idea; and it is a pleasant duty to show, in the first number of the new series of India that the demands of the Congress are both moderate and practical. Englishmen have a delightful horror of the hysterical and the theoretical, which has kept them as a nation sane in crises which would have driven other races into a frenzy of revolution. And if it can be proved that any demand made upon them is practicable and morally defensible, they are always ready to acknowledge their debt in full. Violent language and threats have never driven the English people, but temperate requests, if shown to be justified by facts, are always sure of a patient hearing, if only they are dinned persistently enough into the ears of the British public to be heard. It is to this sober and practical British public, not to the "Bengali Babu lunatics," that argument has to be used.

Unfortunately the English newspapers have, as a rule, preferred year by year, to print long articles on the Indian National Congress instead of the actual resolutions passed by the Congress. Next month India will print in full the resolutions passed by the eighth National Congress during its session at Allahabad from 26th to 28th December, which cannot be received in time to go to press this month. It is therefore necessary to take the resolutions passed at the last Congress at Nagpur in December, 1891, as the text from which to prove the essential moderation of the demands of the Congress. Resolution I last year was formal, but Resolution II is the most important of all and the one which has given rise to most misunderstanding in England. Its terms are: "Resolved,—That this Congress reaffirms the conclusion arrived at by all previous Congresses, viz., that India can never be well or justly governed, nor her people prosperous or contented, until they are allowed, through their elected representatives, a potential voice in the legislatures of their own country, and respectfully urges the people of Great Britain and Ireland, whose goodwill towards India it gratefully recognises, to permit no further delay in this just and necessary reform." Surely nothing could be more temperate than this request; the Congress only asks that the people of India should be fully heard through its elected representatives. And the first step towards granting their request has been taken. Parliament during its last session on the initiative of the late Government passed an enabling Act, 55 and 56 Vict., c. 14, by which additional members may be added to the existing Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils and "the Governor-General in

"Council *may* from time to time with the approval "of the Secretary of State in Council make regulations as to the conditions under which such nominations, or any of them, shall be made by the Governor-General, Governors and Lieutenant-Governors respectively, and prescribe the manner in which such regulations shall be carried into effect." This does not prescribe election to seats on the Legislative Councils, but it permits it.

And how do the Indian reformers propose to carry out the scheme of election, which is now permitted? They make no claim, such as is attributed to them by their opponents, for supreme power. They do not advocate universal suffrage. The following is the scheme proposed by the Bombay Provincial Conference, which was held at Poona last month under the chairmanship of Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, who was President of the sixth Indian National Congress. The scheme applies only to Bombay, but it is typical of the attitude with which the most enlightened Indian reformers approach the subject. It is proposed that the Bombay Legislative Council shall consist of twenty-four members, exclusive of the President, of whom four shall be *ex-officio*, the Commander-in-Chief, the two members of Council, and the Advocate-General, eight nominated by the Government of Bombay, and twelve elected. For the purposes of election the Presidency should be divided into five electoral divisions, of which Bombay city and Maharashtra, that is, both Deccan and Konkan, should return three members each, while Sind, Gujarát, and the Bombay Karnátik should return two each. It is proposed that the electorate of each division, except Bombay city, should be divided into two parts, urban and rural, and that the elected members of all municipalities should vote in the urban, and the elected members of all district boards in the rural divisions. A somewhat similar scheme is proposed in full detail for the Madras Presidency in the *Hindu* for November 16th. It is not pretended that these schemes are perfect, but they show that the demands of the leading Indian reformers, like those of the Congress, are neither exaggerated nor impracticable.

The Third Resolution of the last Congress is the celebrated one affirming that "fully fifty millions of "the population, a number yearly increasing, are "dragging out a miserable existence on the verge "of starvation, and that, in every decade, several "millions actually perish of starvation." This unhappy state of things is attributed by the Congress to the exclusion of the people of India from a due participation in the administration, to the extravagant cost of the present administration and to a short-sighted system of the Land Revenue. It would take too long to examine the details of this Resolution on the present occasion, but as it will probably be reaffirmed at the forthcoming Congress, an opportunity will be afforded next month of discussing them. Resolutions V. and VI. assert the expediency of allowing the enlistment of native Indian volunteers on the analogy of the English volunteers, and demand the holding of simultaneous examinations in England and India for admission into the Public Service, neither of them unreasonable demands. The Sixth Resolution is financial; it advocates the reduction, not the entire abolition as many Europeans would desire, of the cruel salt tax; the raising of the taxable minimum for income tax from five hundred to one thousand rupees a year, at which rate it would be below the equivalent value exempted from income tax in this country; and the introduction of Excise reform, including Local Option in all villages. The Seventh Resolution recommends the complete separation of executive and judicial functions, a principle adopted throughout Europe, the extension of the jury system, and reforms in the police administration. The Eighth Resolution deprecates the curtailing of the expenditure in education, and the Eleventh "respectfully, but earnestly" entreats the Government of India to investigate the working of the Forest Laws, and to mitigate the harshness of their operation on the poorer agricultural classes. Nothing bears witness more strongly to the moderation of the Indian National Congress than their wording of this last Resolution. The Forest Laws, excellent in intention, have yet irritated the people of many Districts almost into rebellion. In the cause of the preservation of trees the Indian Forest Department is almost as keen as the Norman kings of England were for the preservation of game. The very poor suffer the most, and the Government of India has already insisted on the disafforestment of certain reserves, the exclusion from which meant ruin to the poor cultivator in the neighbourhood.

The other Resolutions at the last Congress were formal, but enough has been said to show that the demands of the Indian reformers are not exaggerated and irrational, but singularly and surprisingly moderate. It is sincerely to be hoped that this moderate tone will continue to prevail. John Bull will not be threatened, but his ears will open if they are only persistently besieged by the temperate demands of his fellow subjects in India to share in the privileges, which he himself enjoys.

TRIAL BY JURY IN BENGAL.

Never probably has more widespread consternation been caused throughout India than by the news that Sir Charles Elliott, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, had seen fit to curtail and almost abolish the right of trial by jury in the wealthy, prosperous, and peaceful province over which he holds sway. Trial by jury is not to the native of India the *palladium* of liberty which it is to the Englishman. It only exists in a modified form in certain Districts of certain Provinces for the trial of certain offences, but for all that it is looked upon as representing one of the stages on the path to complete liberty and self-government, which is the natural aim of every educated inhabitant of British India. The educated classes in India have been trained on English text-books; they are well read in English history, and even the small admission of the right which most Englishmen prize above all other rights is loved by them as an evidence of England's desire to treat India on the same footing as her own subjects. Yet at one fell swoop this right, cherished as

it is rather for its promised hope of further extension than for its actual benefits, is practically swept away. The right of being tried by his peers in the Districts of Hugli, Bardwan, Murshidábád, Nadiyá, Patná, Dacca, and the Twenty-four Parganás has by the will of Sir Charles Elliott been abolished in all cases of offences against public tranquillity, of offences affecting the human body, that is, murder, assault, etc., excepting such offences as rape and abduction, and of offences relating to documents and trade marks. On the other hand, the delusive right of a trial by jury for offences relating to marriage is granted in the seven Districts, and offences against property and in cases of false evidence are still left to a jury to deal with. This subversive change is made by the sole will of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal after approval by the Government of India and without consulting the local Legislative Council. It is sufficiently monstrous that the right of trial by jury should be left at the mercy of one imperious official, and, as will be perceived from a passage quoted from the *St. James' Gazette* on another page, even the Tory press of England is aghast that such arbitrary power can be exercised in India by a single man. Had Sir Charles Elliott had his way he would indeed have gone further, but the Government of India had the wisdom to reject his preposterous demand that "a right of appeal should be granted "on the facts against the verdict of a jury when the "jury is not unanimous, unless the judge records his "agreement with the majority." Sir Charles Elliott, in his dealings with the Bengal municipalities, has utterly disregarded the educational effect of the rights which have hitherto been granted to our Indian fellow subjects. He is obviously out of sympathy with the feeling which animates the best of the Anglo-Indian Administrators, for he persists in refusing to recognise that it is his duty to nurse the people of his Province into a condition when they can stand by themselves. In his utter disregard for native opinion he has further displayed the worst trait of an autocratic ruler.

And how does the Lieutenant-Governor justify his conduct? By a sweeping assertion that he is acting in conformity with the opinion of the most experienced members of the Bengal judicial establishment. The opinions of those members of the judicial bench who have acted in the Districts which have possessed the great boon of trial by jury have been printed in an extraordinary number of the *Calcutta Gazette* dated 10th November. It is worthy of notice that the Lieutenant-Governor's decision was made known on the 20th October, and that the new arrangement came into effect on the 1st November. It was not till ten days afterwards that the Government of Bengal thought fit to try to justify its action by the publication of this extraordinary number of the *Gazette*, which is *extraordinary* in more senses than one. Perhaps the most extraordinary thing about it is that the opinions of the judges in no way account for the Lieutenant-Governor's sweeping decision. The judges of Calcutta High Court state that "owing "to considerable divergence of opinion among them, "they have been unable to formulate any reply which "would satisfactorily represent their views as a body." The Chief Justice, Sir W. C Petheram, who was a most distinguished English counsel and has been long enough in India to understand Indian questions, states that he is "unwilling to express any opinion "unfavourable to the existence of the system of trial "by jury as it is called in these Provinces or as to its "merits as a means for the repression of crime." The minutes of other judges are by no means in favour of the entire curtailment of trial by jury which has taken place. There is a general consensus of opinion that in cases involving capital punishment, that is in cases of murder, the popular feeling in Bengal is so much opposed to causing death that it is extremely difficult to obtain a verdict of guilty. The judges of the High Court, in short, who have evidently given careful consideration to the subject, desire slightly to modify, but certainly not to curtail, the working of the jury system in Bengal.

Great as is the deference which should be paid to the opinions of the High Court judges, it is doubtful whether the experience of the District and Sessions judges in the Districts in which trial by jury exists ought not to have even greater weight. The extraordinary number of the *Calcutta Gazette* is chiefly made up of these opinions. The whole number should be read by anyone who desires to understand the subject, but it will be enough here to quote from opinions of two particularly able judicial officers.

Mr. Garrett, the District and Sessions Judge of the Twenty-four Parganás, declares that "the jury system "is on the whole a failure," and it is interesting to examine the reasons which he gives as the cause for this failure: "There is," he says, "a very essential "difference in respect to the administration of "criminal law in England and in India. In Eng- "land we are, on the whole, a homogeneous nation: "we all approve, on the whole, our system of criminal "law. The jury sympathise with the law which is "administered in our criminal courts; they have "confidence in the presiding judge, and last but not "least, being jurymen, they are content to be jury- "men only to find facts and to leave everything "else in the hands of the judge. Now in India all "these conditions are reversed. We are Western "foreigners . . . . . Instead of our criminal code "being sympathetic to the Indians generally I "believe it is on the whole unsympathetic. They "have therefore little or no confidence in the pre- "siding judge, not because they believe he will "convict unjustly, but because they believe that "given a conviction he will often award a punish- "ment very different to what they would have "awarded. Is it wonderful that under these cir- "cumstances Indian jurors constitute themselves "judges as well as jurymen, and that in many "cases with an absolute disregard of honour and "propriety they convict prisoners under sections "not carrying a larger punishment than they think "should be awarded; and sometimes I suspect that "if they think the offence should not be punished "at all they go the length of acquitting them "altogether. . . . . In India the summing up of "a Sessions Judge is with the majority of the "juries of very little efficacy. This arises no doubt "from the fact that few Sessions judges have had "any practice in public speaking, and have in "many cases to address persons in a language

"which they speak and pronounce imperfectly." These remarks of Mr. Garrett are of far greater importance than the decision adverse to the jury system to which he has arrived. It will come as an unpleasant surprise to most Englishmen to learn that the law administered in India, upon which they pride themselves as one of the greatest blessings ever conferred by foreign rulers upon a country, is unsympathetic to the people of India. And it is not comforting to hear that judicial officers, entrusted with the most serious of all duties, cannot make themselves understood in open court. Under such a condition of things it is inevitable that gross injustice must often be done in Districts where the safeguard of trial by jury is not allowed.

Of even more weight is the opinion of Mr. Beveridge, the Additional Sessions Judge of the Twenty-four Parganás. Mr. Beveridge is favourably known in England by his classical book upon the trial of Nuncomar. Readers of that powerful work are well acquainted with Mr. Beveridge's exceptional qualifications for judging evidence and passing an opinion on Indian matters. "The Bengali," says Mr. Beveridge, "is certainly as a rule a good natured "man. He is more accessible to arguments *ad miseri-* "*cordiam* than are numbers of robuster nations, and "he is also perhaps more of a sceptic. As he has not "seen the crime committed, and as he does not feel as "certain of the prisoner's guilt as of his own existence, "he yields to the prayer of the prisoner's pleader, and "gives the accused the benefit of the doubt. If, then, "the jury system is to be considered merely on its "merits as a means for the repression of crime, my "unhesitating opinion is that it is a failure and "should be done away with. But if it is to be con- "sidered also as a political institution, and as a means "of educating the people and interesting them in the "subject of crimes, then there is a good deal to be "said for the retention of the system. I almost "doubt, too, if the question can be considered as "still an open one. Though jurymen intensely dis- "like having to serve, and though they are often "put to great trouble and even expense (for they "are made to come from all parts of the District and "have often to undertake journeys of two or three "days), yet the educated classes regard, or effect to "regard, trial by jury as a bulwark of liberty. It "must be admitted, too, that trial by jury tends to "mitigate the very natural feeling of repugnance as "to being tried in courts presided over by foreigners. "I believe that if all the Sessions judges were natives, "trial by jury would be dropped by acclamation; "but so long as this is not the case, I do not think "that we can abolish juries in Districts where they "are in use. If this is to be done, it can only be by "a gradual ripening of public opinion. If the Eng- "lish people should find out, as perhaps some day "they will, that the jury system is as unsatisfactory "in criminal cases as it is in civil, then the Bengalis "may do so likewise. . . . If the jury system is to "be retained, I am rather in favour of extending "than of limiting the jurisdiction." With such an opinion by such a particularly able civilian before him Sir Charles Elliott can hardly assert that his abrupt action is the result of the universal approval of the judicial service in Bengal.

On the merits of the case alone it so happens that the Bengal jury system has several advantages over the English. The power given to the District and Sessions Judges to refer cases in which they do not approve of the verdict of the jury to the Calcutta High Court is one that might well be adopted in England, and which doubtless will be adopted whenever a Court of Criminal Appeal is established. But it is not on the merits of the case alone that popular feeling has been stirred up in Bengal. People feel that, taken with other measures of Sir Charles Elliott, the step is one in a retrograde direction. The grand idea of gradually educating the people of India so that they may eventually be enabled to administer their own local affairs is being thrown to the winds. For the first time within the memory of man, public meetings in Bengal have passed resolutions of censure against the local government. The Indian National Congress doubtless will add its voice in hearty condemnation of this backward step. The British Committee of the Congress will stir up public opinion in England. Questions will be asked in the House of Commons, and a satisfactory answer demanded. And the people of England, who have long cherished trial by jury as one of their most precious inheritances, will take care that the small measure of the priceless boon which has been granted to the people of India shall not be arbitrarily withdrawn or curtailed. Probably Sir Charles Elliott's measure will have a very different result from what he expected. When Englishmen understand how very small is the extent to which trial by jury is permitted in India, they are more likely to insist upon its further development than to allow its diminution.

THE MYSORE REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY:

An Object Lesson in Indian Self-Government.

While the air is full of schemes for carrying into effect the principle of election to the Legislative Councils of India, it is instructive on more than one account to refer to the recent proceedings of the Representative Assembly of the great Native State of Mysore. This experiment in local self-government has been tried under peculiarly favourable conditions for affording arguments on the advantages or disadvantages of introducing the representation idea into the Provinces of British India. The people of Mysore were for something like half a century under the direct administration of British officials. The complete system which exists in the Provinces of British India was firmly planted in Mysore. Some of the most eminent administrators that ever ruled an Indian Province have held office in that State—men eminent alike in sustained power of work and in their sympathy with the people. Prominent among these administrators were Sir Mark Cubbon and Mr. Bowring. Mysore has therefore not developed under purely native auspices, and if an experiment is crowned with success in Mysore it promises to be equally successful in any British Province. Mysore has been fortunate in its native as well as in its English administrators. Purnaiya, who was entrusted with power by Lord Wellesley, when Mysore was restored to its

Hindu dynasty after the death of Tipu Sahib, ruled the state to the admiration of European officials for many years, and Mr. Rungacharlu who took charge of the administration when Mysore was restored once more to its legitimate sovereign in 1881 will preserve a name in the annals of the state equal to that of his distinguished predecessor.

Mr. Rungacharlu's great service was the creation of the Mysore Representative Assembly. It would have been easy for the Mahárájá of Mysore and his Minister to have simply continued the system of government left by the English administration. But, fortunately, they resolved on making a great innovation. They wished to bring the government into closer relations with the governed. They were not satisfied in the English fashion to rule the people autocratically. They felt the need of being brought into contact at regular intervals with representatives of the people. They did not at once confer the full right of self-government upon the people of Mysore, but they took the first necessary step towards such a system. The Assembly which they established was to be deliberative and consultative, not legislative or executive. But the enlightened Mahárájá must have foreseen that one step must inevitably in course of time lead to the other. To say that there have been mistakes made and serious flaws discovered in the new system is only to acknowledge what was inevitable. And if some weight is laid in the following sentences upon the nature of these mistakes, it is not with any idea of censuring the Mahárájá or his Minister. On the contrary, no praise can be too high for the enlightened men who have made the daring experiment of establishing a large representative assembly of over 300 members in a large native state. The English concession of allowing a small increase to the legislative councils of the different provinces which already possess them to some 20 or 30 members seems paltry by the side of the 315 members of the Mysore Representative Assembly. It is a noble experiment nobly carried out; its very mistakes are instructive; and all India should look with interest upon the working of the Mysore Parliament.

On the meeting of the Assembly the Diwán, Mr. K. Sheshadri Iyer, read a report on the administration of the State, based upon the lines of the Administration Report of a British Indian Province to the assembled representatives. The Rev. Mr. Haigh, a member of the Assembly, moved a reply to the address, and was followed by the English member for the Planters' Association, Mr. Anderson. On the following day the English members, chiefly representatives of the Planters' and Goldminers' Associations, addressed the Assembly, and the Diwán (according to the *Mysore Herald* for 10th October) listen to them politely and patiently. The English representatives then departed. This of itself is a bad sign. There can be no opinion but one of approval for the plan of uniting representatives of English capitalists with representatives for native communities; but it is essential that they should sit and work together, and not be allowed to separate their interests. If this were to continue the distinction of race which has led to so many grievances would be perpetuated. After the departure of the English members it was the turn of the native representatives to be heard. They were asked if their suggestions and general questions had been classified by the Standing Committee of the Assembly. The members for the Districts of Shimoga and Kolar then stated that they did not want a Standing Committee which would "encroach upon their freedom of action and representation, and would eventually stand themselves between the representatives and the Government." And here appears another serious defect in the Mysore Constitution. Students of Parliamentary history of England and of France are well aware of the pernicious effects of standing committees. They have invariably exhibited a tendency to retain all power for themselves and to infringe the rights of whichever party is weakest, whether the monarch or the Parliament. Centuries of experience in Europe have proved that a continuously sitting assembly and a permanent standing committee are dangerous to the liberties, or else to the good government, of a nation. The statesmen of Mysore might well study the passages of European history which illustrate this great truth if they do not wish to afford another instance of the inherent evils of such a system. It is in such points that the experience of Europe and a knowledge of European history would be of inestimable advantage. Mr. Iyer seems to have perceived this and said: "The Standing Committee have arrogated to themselves powers which they are never to possess, and which even the Government never tried to exercise; if they would prove themselves useful, they should move with the people. They should not have tried to take votes in their preliminary meetings. They have made a mess of the affair. I will, however, have the general questions classified next year, and call upon the members to speak upon them first." The result of this little scene was that many of the Native representatives lost their heads. They spoke at random, and the Diwán lost his temper. "His impatience was so great (according to the *Mysore Herald*), and the damper it created so intense, that many felt thoroughly discouraged to make their representations, and desisted from their duty. Some of the bold spirits lost their temper as well, and forgot the respect they owe to the Government. One of the representatives from Bangalore was so disappointed at the gag applied by the Diwán to the representatives that he said: 'We come, sir, from a distance to place our grievances before you, hoping that by doing so we will meet with a patient hearing, if not a prompt redress. If you snub us in the course of our representations, and if you are so very impatient to get rid of our representations, I don't see any use in our coming to the Representative Assembly. What are we to say to our constituents when we return home? Are we to say that we went to the Representative Assembly, that we were snubbed by the Diwán, and driven to resume our seats without representing what we were instructed to represent.'"

It is a pity that the name of this outspoken Bangalore deputy is not mentioned in the *Mysore Herald*. The sturdy spirit which he displayed is exactly that which won for the English House of

Commons its influence in the affairs of England. It is impossible to over-emphasize his speech. It proves that even in this early stage of representative institutions Mysore has produced men worthy of being intrusted with the important duty of defending the cause of the people. If there are such men in Mysore they must also exist in the British Provinces, and the argument that the natives of India are unfit for representative government falls to the ground. If we have laid special weight on this little incident, it is not because we underrate the difficulties of the Mysore Government. Every bantling needs careful nursing at first, and the Mysore Assembly will not create for itself a great tradition or a proper sphere of work in a day. But the right spirit is there and it is the spirit which makes the being live. We have no wish to be unduly hard on Mr. Iyer; undoubtedly, the repetition of random remarks is enough to exasperate any statesman whose time is precious. But he will learn patience with experience, and he may be assured that while educated India and all English sympathisers with educated India watch his administration carefully and admire his ability and uprightness, they are even more interested in studying the progress of the Mysore Representative Assembly because it is a gallant experiment and an object lesson of vast importance in Indian Local Self-Government.

Indian National Congress:

THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

Letter from Sir William Wedderburn, Baronet, Chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress to the Right Honourable the Earl of Kimberley, K.G., H.M. Principal Secretary of State, India Office, S.W.

My Lord,—I am requested to bring to the notice of your Lordship in Council the anxiety and apprehension with which the British Committee of the Indian National Congress have noted the proceedings of the Bengal Government with reference to the Bill to amend the Bengal Municipal Act III., of 1884. As your Lordship is aware, a question on this subject was not long ago put by Mr. Schwann to Mr. Curzon, late Under Secretary of State for India; and an assurance was obtained that the most careful consideration and the utmost weight would be accorded to the opinion of the local bodies concerned. But the Committee regret to observe that the Bill as amended by the Select Committee (*vide* their report of 25th August last) still contains the provisions which are most strongly objected to by those whose interests are affected, and which, in the opinion of this Committee, strike at the very root of the existing system of local self-government in India. As Parliament is not sitting it is not at present possible to bring the matter again before Her Majesty's Government, with a view to effect being given to the assurance already granted. The British Committee therefore feel it their duty briefly to state to your Lordship the points which seem to them most important, and respectfully to urge that such orders may be issued as will prevent a reversal, by the local Government of Bengal, of the liberal and progressive policy introduced under the orders of the Viceroy in Council, and approved by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

2. The most vital point has reference to the appointment of Municipal Chairman. Under Section 23 of the existing Act III., of 1884, Municipal Commissioners have power to elect their own Chairman, unless the name of their municipality was originally entered in the 2nd Schedule of the Act; and there exists no provision under which a municipality now possessing this right can be deprived of it. But under Section 12 (Clause 4) of the Bill as amended, it is proposed to give to the local Government power at any time to insert the name of any municipality in the Schedule. And the effect of this provision is to allow the Executive Government, at its discretion, to take away from any municipality the power of electing its own Chairman, without assigning any reason or alleging any necessity for the change.

3. Now, with reference to this proposal, the British Committee desire to urge (1) that no sufficient facts have been adduced to justify so sudden and violent a change; (2) that if abuses exist the Executive already possesses, in Sections 65 and 66 of the Act, ample corrective powers; and (3) that the new provisions, instead of being educational, will be destructive to the existing machinery of self-government.

4. The views of the Government of India were clearly stated in the Circular Orders of 1881 and 1882, when His Excellency the Marquess of Ripon laid down the principles by which the local administrations were to be guided. Local self-government was declared to be "chiefly desirable as an instrument of popular and political education." And the elective chairmanship was to be the corner-stone of the edifice. It was quite foreseen that there would at first be defects in administration. But the Government of India was even prepared to accept many failures at starting, in view of the real and substantial benefits which must ultimately result. Such being the principles upon which local self-government was to be established, the British Committee submit that the administrative defects proved against the existing system must be of a very grave kind, and they must be incapable of correction by means already available, before the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal is justified in seeking a remedy by reversing a policy so deliberately adopted and so solemnly declared by the Supreme Government. But, as a matter of fact, when reference is made to the Bengal Administration Reports it does not appear that the defects alleged against the present system are either grave or widespread. On the contrary, the reports are favourable, even that of last year issued by the present Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Charles Elliott. Also it does not appear that the corrective provisions contained in Sections 65 and 66 of the Act have been made use of. These provisions, though stringent, are only temporary in their operation, and can only be enforced upon solid reasons to be stated in the Order. Under these circumstances this Committee confidently submit that the Bengal Government

is not justified in introducing these new disabling clauses, which are opposed to the principles laid down by the Government of India, and which in practice will paralyse all independent energy in the municipal bodies.

5. Similar objections must be taken to other provisions in the Bill of a retrograde character, especially those contained in Sections 4, 19, 25, and 31 of the Bill, with reference to the appointment of vice-chairman, the limits of the municipalities, and the powers of assessment. But this Committee, being unwilling to trespass unduly on your lordship's time, will not set forth their objections on these points in detail; and will only draw attention to the proceedings of a meeting held on the 3rd of September last in the Town Hall at Calcutta, when a large number of delegates from Mofussil municipalities met, under the presidency of Mahárájá Bahádur Jagadindra Nath Roy of Nattore, and stated in a series of resolutions their objections to the Bill in its present form.

6. In conclusion, I am desired to state that this matter is urgent, as the Bill is now approaching its final stages, and the British Committee trust that your Lordship in Council will be pleased to take early steps to prevent a reversal of the wise and beneficent policy sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government.

I have, my Lord,
the honour to be your Lordship's
most obedient servant,
(Signed) W. WEDDERBURN,
2nd November, 1892. Chairman.

Office of the British Committee
of the Indian National Congress,
84 and 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.

[REPLY.]

India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
29th Nov., 1892.

SIR,—I am directed by the Secretary of State for India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 2nd November, concerning the Bengal Municipalities Amendment Bill, now before the Bengal Legislature.

In reply, I am directed to inform you that the Earl of Kimberley has forwarded your letter for the consideration of the Government of India.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
(Signed.) A. GODLEY.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, Bart.,
Chairman of the British Committee of the
Indian National Congress,
84, Palace Chambers, Westminster.

To the Right Honble. the EARL OF KIMBERLEY, K.G., Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India in Council.

THE MEMORIAL of the undersigned friends of female education in India:

Respectfully showeth,

That in his educational Despatch of 19th July, 1854, Sir Charles Wood recognized the responsibility of the Government of India as regards female education, affirming that the importance of the question could not be overrated; that through the education of women "a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men;" and that the Government of India "ought to give to native female education its frank and cordial support." This view was again powerfully urged by the Education Commission of 1882, and it again received the endorsement of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State.

That your Memorialists, heartily concurring in the views thus set forth, and believing that in this way alone can permanent social progress be secured, desire to express their deep regret that during the thirty-eight years which have since elapsed so small an amount has been spent by Government on female education in India, and that, although provision has been made for the secondary and collegiate education of boys, comparatively little has been done for the higher education of girls:

That your Memorialists recognise the difficult and delicate nature of the task, and approve of the policy which would to a certain extent leave the initiative, as regards higher female education, to representatives of the Native Community, who are best acquainted with the feelings and wishes of their own people; but your Memorialists submit that the action of the Native Community, however beneficial, does not relieve Government of its responsibility to place higher female education upon a sound and permanent basis:

That your Memorialists have learned with satisfaction that, upon the initiative of the Maharashtra Female Education Society, five or six years ago, an efficient and well-conducted High School for Native Girls has been established, as a Government institution, in the City of Poona; but they are informed that the Bombay Government contemplates diminishing its contribution, and reducing the School to the position of a private aided institution; a proposal which the Managers of the School view with the greatest alarm:

That certain particulars regarding the history of the School are set forth in the annexed Memorandum, on behalf of the Managers:

And your Memorialists pray that, in accordance with the principles laid down by Sir C. Wood, and reasserted in convincing terms by the Education Commission, more strenuous efforts may be made and larger grants allotted for the promotion of female education in India; and further, in particular, that looking to the importance of the Poona Native Girls' High School as a pioneer institution in the Deccan, and the good results obtained from its working, the support hitherto given by the Government to that institution may be continued.

And your Memorialists will ever pray.

(Signed by)
The Lady Hobhouse.
The Marchioness of Ripon.
Miss Florence Nightingale.
The Countess of Aberdeen.

The Baroness Burdett-Coutts.
Mrs. Fawcett.
Miss Philippa Fawcett (Newnham Coll.).
The Lady Frederick Cavendish.
Lady Peile.
Lady Markby.
Lady Wedderburn.
Miss Elizabeth Wordsworth (Principal, Lady Margaret's Hall, Oxford).
Miss E. A. Manning.
Miss Agnes Maitland (Principal, Somerville Hall, Oxford).
Miss Cornelia Sorabjee, B.A. (Bombay).
Mrs. Sheppard.
Mrs. Schwann.
Mrs. Eva Mc Laren.
Miss M. A. Eve (London School Board).
Miss M. M. Eve.
Miss R. Davenport-Hill.
Miss F. Davenport-Hill.
Miss M. A. Vakil, B.A. (Bombay).
Bai Rakhmabai.
Miss Freany Cama, L. M. and S. (Bombay).
Mrs. Percival.
The Marquis of Ripon, K.G.
The Lord Hobhouse.
Professor Max Müller.
Sir W. Monier-Williams (Boden Professor, Oxford).
Sir Richard Temple, Bart., M.P.
Revd. A. Goldwyer Lewis, Archdeacon (Bombay).
Right Hon. Sir Harry Verney, Bart.
Sir W. W. Hunter, K.C.S.I, late President, Indian Education Commission.
Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart.
Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P.
Sir G. Birdwood, K.C.I.E.
Sir W. Markby, K.C.I.E.
Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E.
Sir Douglas Galton, K.C.B.
W. Martin Wood.
A. Rogers, late Member of Council (Bombay).
J. B. Knight, C.I.E.
W. S. Caine, M.P.
W. S. B. Mc Laren, M.P.
C. E. Schwann, M.P.
E. H. Percival.
M. M. Bhownaggree, C.I.E.

MEMORANDUM.

HIGHER FEMALE EDUCATION IN INDIA.

THE POONA NATIVE GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL.

In his celebrated Educational Despatch of 19th July, 1854, Sir Charles Wood recognised the responsibility of the Government of India as regards female education, affirming that the importance of the question could not be overrated, and that through the education of women "a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men." He heartily concurred in the declaration of the Governor-General in Council that the Government "ought to give to native female education its frank and cordial support." This was nearly 40 years ago. What has been done up to date to give practical effect to these sentiments?

For many years little or nothing was done. And the inquiries of the Education Commission, ten years ago, brought out prominently the extreme disparity between the educational progress of boys and that of girls. While, through the Educational Department, a system of primary, secondary, and collegiate education had long been established for boys, no such* arrangement had been made for girls, beyond a small number of primary schools in the towns, with two Female Normal Schools, at Poona and Ahmadábád, to train vernacular teachers. As regards higher education the State had done nothing. The boys were thus educationally two generations ahead of the girls, a state of things very detrimental to social progress and domestic concord. This neglect also affected primary education. For experience has shown that unless supplemented and stimulated by efforts at higher education, the attempt to spread elementary education cannot lead to any permanent success. In its report (1883) the Education Commission forcibly urged that vigorous steps should be taken to advance female education.

No doubt the question of higher female education in India is a difficult one, being mixed up with social and religious considerations of a delicate kind. And the Government has been inclined to wait for the initiative to be taken by the Native Community. In the Deccan the Native Community took up the cause. On the 19th of July, 1884, a large and enthusiastic meeting was held in the Poona Town Hall to consider the question of higher female education and to adopt a definite scheme for its promotion. The proceedings were opened by reading a Memorial which had been adopted the day before at a meeting of the "Arya Mahila Samaj," or Indian Ladies' Association, when nearly 100 ladies were present. In this document the Memorialists entreated Government that female education might receive more liberal support, for they felt confident that the blessings conferred by male education would be multiplied a hundred-fold if the women also were similarly favoured. They expressed their hearty sympathy with the cause of higher female education and trusted that all their male relations and friends would join in the good work by which alone the lasting prosperity of their country would be secured. The meeting was then eloquently addressed by the leading reformers, including the Honourable M. G. Ranade, Mr. S. P. Pandit, and Professor Bhandarkar, who, in a learned speech, pointed out that according to the ancient Aryan idea the wife was the companion and friend of the husband, his partner in religious and worldly duties; and that the present unhappy and depressed condition of women in India was owing to the oppression of a later and degenerate age. And he quoted the Mahabharata which says that "a wife is the half of a man and his most "excellent friend; she is the foundation for him "who seeks to be redeemed, a friend in solitude, "a father in matters of duty, and a mother in

* These statements refer to the Bombay Presidency.

"distress." Next a detailed scheme was placed before the meeting having for its object to establish at Poona a High School for native girls, teaching up to the Matriculation standard. The scheme was adopted. And finally a strong committee, headed by His Highness the Regent of Kolhápur, was appointed for the purpose of collecting funds, opening negotiations with Government, and generally carrying out the objects of the meeting. Subsequently this committee developed itself into the Maharashtra Female Education Society, having for its object to establish girls' high schools not only in Poona but in other towns throughout the Deccan. Its appeal for funds was very liberally responded to, and in a short time over a lakh of rupees had been contributed as an endowment fund, the donors belonging to all classes, and including most of the native chiefs and ladies of highest rank throughout the Presidency. Also through the liberality of the Chief of Sangli, an admirable site was obtained for the proposed High School in the best quarter of the City of Poona; while a considerable additional sum was collected towards the required buildings.

Fortified with these solid results of the popular movement, the Society approached the Bombay Government. And the result of the negotiations was that the Poona Native Girls' High School was established as a Government institution, the Government undertaking to provide the salaries of the teachers, while the Society undertook to supervise the School, and to provide all other expenses, including scholarships, from the subscribed funds. The terms upon which the Government agreed to this arrangement are set forth in their letter, No. 50, of 8th January, 1885, to the Director of Public Instruction. These terms were not altogether satisfactory to the Society, especially with regard to the period for which the School was to remain a Government institution. The Society was of opinion that the School, being a pioneer enterprize, should remain a Government institution for at least 25 years, so that it might become fairly rooted and established. After that period the entire management and support of the School might be transferred to the Society on the footing of an aided institution under the ordinary rules. In the case of boys, Government High Schools had been continued for a much longer period, and special precautions were more necessary as regards girls' higher education, for in their case the material advantages were less manifest, while the hostile prejudices were more inveterate. The Government, however, declined to give a pledge for 25 years, or for any definite period. And they drew the attention of the Society to the decided views of the Government of India, that as far as possible private effort was to be relied upon for all kinds of advanced education, and therefore that the liberal assistance given in the present instance was held justifiable only by very special circumstances and could be given only to launch the institution and maintain it in its early years, Government reserving the right to reduce its support or to transfer part of the cost to local resources as might seem proper. Further, Government expressed a hope that the movement for the higher education of girls would spread, and reminded the Society that the Government Grant had to be carefully measured out in order that all the funds available might not be swallowed up by one institution, the opening of similar schools being thus prevented. For these reasons the Society was bound to continue its efforts to increase the private funds at its disposal, and so to apply them as to set free part of the Government assignment when an appeal for aid should come from another town. In conclusion, Government assured the Society that so long as its Board of Management continued to work satisfactorily it would receive all reasonable support and assistance from Government.

As above stated, these terms were disappointing to the Society. But, fortified by the direct connection and countenance of Government, the Society has up to the present time been able to overcome the difficulties resulting from the apathy of friends and in some cases the opposition of enemies, and to continue its work. The School has remained safe because it is a Government institution. But now, suddenly, there has arisen the fear that this element of strength will be withdrawn. The Bombay Government has suggested that the time has almost come when the School may cease to be a Government institution. And, with a view to a reduction of the Government payments, the Director of Public Instruction has been called upon to report what would be a proper amount to fix as the grant-in-aid for the School under the rules for private aided institutions. This change would mean the transfer from Government to a private society of the responsibility for the success and permanence of the School. To those unacquainted with the all-pervading influence of Government in India, as compared with the weakness of private enterprize, it may not appear that such a transfer need prove fatal. But this is not the opinion of the local friends of female education, who understand best the inner working of native society. They consider the transfer would mean a death blow to the School, and irreparable injury to the cause of higher female education in Western India.

Now what is the reason why Government press for the transfer? The transfer has not been recommended by the Educational Department, and it is not affirmed that the change will benefit the School. The main object doubtless is to effect a saving. But on this ground it is submitted that the action of Government is premature. The agreement was that the Government connection should continue till the condition of the School permitted of the transfer, and that in the meantime the Society should exert itself to reduce the amount of the Government contribution, a promise being given that as long as the Board of Management continued to work satisfactorily it would receive all reasonable support and assistance from Government. Now it is not denied that hitherto the management has given complete satisfaction. The Society was fortunate enough to secure the services, as Lady Superintendent, of Miss Hurford, a lady of altogether exceptional fitness for this difficult and responsible post. And year by year the Educational Department has reported most favourably regarding the tone and efficiency of the School. As regards management therefore the Society has done its part. Also a large saving has

actually been effected for Government owing to the Society having taken over charge of the Female Normal College, a Government institution. The total amount contributed by Government to the School only amounts to about £800 per annum, and by taking over the Normal College the Society has now saved to Government £300 per annum in salary, besides the rent of the College buildings; thus reducing the Government expenditure by about one-half. Also it is to be noted that in the original agreement it was not contemplated that the very slender grant to higher female education should be reduced at all, the understanding being that any saving in Poona should be utilised for high schools in other towns. But it does not appear that the saving already effected has been utilised in this way. Indeed, there is nothing to show that any other town has applied to participate in the grant.

Under these circumstances it is contended that under the original agreement Government is not at present justified in effecting any further reduction. On the contrary, the saving already effected through the Society should be utilised in some form for higher female education. In any case, looking to the importance of the Poona School as a pioneer institution in the Deccan, and the good results hitherto obtained, no change should be made in its constitution, contrary to the wishes of the Society, without a careful enquiry through the Educational Department, and the full assurance that the change will benefit the cause of higher female education.

British Committee of the Indian National Congress.
84 and 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.
Nov. 22nd, 1892.

To The General Secretary and Chairman of the Reception Committee; Indian National Congress, Allahábád.

Gentlemen,—I have the honour, at the request of the British Committee, to forward to you a letter addressed by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., to the General Secretary and Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress. The Committee deeply regret that, owing to the trial of the Central Finsbury election petition having been fixed for the 5th of December, it is not possible for Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji to attend the Congress at Allahábád. Had he been present, no doubt the people of India would have taken the opportunity of fittingly expressing their veneration for his public and private character, and their joy at the great success he has achieved in being the first Indian to enter the Imperial Parliament. The Committee trust and believe that the decision on the Election Petition will be in his favour. But, whatever the result may be, the great historical fact remains that he has been elected by a British constituency, and has taken his seat in the House of Commons; that on taking his seat he received a friendly welcome on all sides, and spoke some earnest words on India's behalf; and that his election has been hailed by the whole of India as a national triumph, and as the sign of a union true and lasting between India and Great Britain, founded upon common interests and equal justice.

Looking to the importance of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's letter, the Committee have caused it to be printed, and I forward to you 5,000 spare copies with a view to its wide distribution among the members of the Congress, and other friends assembled at Allahabad.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your obedient servant,
(*Signed*) W. Wedderburn.
Chairman British Committee,
Indian National Congress.

National Liberal Club,
Whitehall Place, London, S.W.

W. C. Bonnerjee, Esq., *Joint General Secretary* and Pundit Bishumbhar Nath, *Chairman of the Reception Committee, Indian National Congress, Allahábád.*

Dear Sirs,—I am sorry I am not able to attend the Congress as I desired to do.

I thank the Congress sincerely for the resolution of support to me they passed last year.

After having been elected a member of the House of Commons, by the favour of the electors of Central Finsbury and by the help of many English ladies and gentlemen, to all of whom we owe a great debt of gratitude, the question is what I am to do in the House, to turn this event to the best advantage for India, besides the duty I owe to my constituents, and which will demand most of my attention.

In connection with India there are two classes of questions:

1st. Questions involving important principles and policy with regard to the people and princes of India.

2nd. Private grievances.

Now it would be simply physically impossible for me, as well as disliked in the House, to make any attempt to take up the time of the House with cases of the second class, excepting such as may involve some important public consideration or a very flagrant act of injustice. But even such few excepted cases, must come to me fully sifted, recommended, and in complete brief with both *pros* and *cons*, by some responsible and authoritative body like the Central or Branch Committee of the Congress or some one of the Principal Associations, through the British Committee in London. If I were to undertake the study of every private grievance, for the mere reading of the papers twenty-four hours' work in the day will not suffice, let alone the studying and mastering the merits, and the unwillingness of the House to listen.

The questions of Class 1 are of two kinds:

(*a*) Questions that can be settled by Parliament alone, the Indian authorities both here and in India having no power to deal with them.

(*b*) Questions which either the authorities in England or India, or both have the power to deal with—and it is only when the Indian authorities fail in their duty that Parliament should

be appealed to as the only power which can put matters right.

. . . .

The Congress has for seven years discussed and formulated its wants, and has accomplished not a little in obtaining the Councils Act of this year, and the increasing interest in India it has succeeded in arousing among the British public at large. Our hopes chiefly rest on the correct knowledge and conscience of the British nation, as I am sorry to observe that the Indian authorities have not only failed in some respects in their duty in the past, but are even taking some retrograde steps at present both with the Indian Princes as well as in their own territory. This is not the occasion for me to enter into particulars.

It is time now that a new departure should be taken by the Congress in beginning their second cycle after seven years to take earnest practical action for each reform.

I trust that the short sketch I have given for our future action here will be approved of by the Congress, and I shall be helped with vigour, enthusiasm, and earnestness in such work as I propose and may be able to undertake.

I have one great satisfaction, and I think it will be shared by the Congress also, that I have been welcomed in the House in a very friendly and sympathetic manner by a large number of members on both sides of the House; and, though single as I am, I have seen every reason to expect that there is a disposition to listen to me and to help me in anything that is reasonable in what the Congress may urge on behalf of India. I feel satisfied and encouraged that, as far as I have observed both inside and outside of the House, there is a desire to wish well and to do justice to India. During my personal canvassing, Conservatives also, as well as Liberals, expressed their sympathy with India, though, as a matter of English party purposes, they could not vote for me. And now that I am elected, many a Conservative elector in Central Finsbury and out of it has expressed his good-will and God-speed to me for the sake of India. I do not therefore feel any solitariness. I feel surrounded by many friendly to India, and I hope and trust that with such a spirit and desire on the part of the British nation, the day for India's amelioration and justice to her, and the conversion of her present evils into blessings, both to Britain and India, is not far distant. One word more. To gain the heart and support of the British people one condition is absolutely necessary. Unless any individual or people show their earnestness and self-sacrifice in their cause, there is no reaching the ear and heart of the Englishman. The perseverance of the Congress under several difficulties has told Englishmen that it does not believe in idle words, however fine and eloquent, not only from other people but from any portion of their own. No movement in this country itself for any important reform succeeds till the people are satisfied that the movers are really earnest, and have proved their earnestness by personal and pecuniary sacrifices worthy of the cause for which they fight.

Our cause involves the weal of well nigh three hundred millions of people, and we have to show that amount of earnestness, self-sacrifice—personal and pecuniary—patience and perseverance, commensurate with and demanded by the magnitude of the cause, and by the means that are necessary to educate and satisfy the British public of the justice, reasonableness, and necessity of the reforms the Congress desire to urge. I am not saying a few words about myself in any spirit of egotism or self-glorification. Everyone who knows me will believe that under sheer necessity alone and with the greatest reluctance would I say it: I have not, as the Congress well knows, sought the position from any personal ambition. I have been simply doing what I felt as my duty. It is the necessity of urging a certain feature of all such work that I say this word, that it is only with heavy personal and direct and indirect pecuniary sacrifice of my own, and with pecuniary aid of some of our patriotic countrymen that I have at last succeeded in getting admission into the Imperial House of Commons. Such sacrifice and help will continue to be needed if work is to be done for a sufficiently long time to do any important good.

The beginning of this new political life and career of India has so far been encouraging in the good spirit and welcome of the British people on the one hand, and on the other hand in the patience, moderation, and perseverance of the Congress for the past seven years. Whether it will continue to be so rests in the hands of the Indian people themselves, in their earnestness, devotion, and self-sacrifice. I wish most heartily every success to the great and patriotic work of the National Congress.

I remain,

yours truly,

Dadabhai Naoroji.

THE INDIAN SECTION OF THE SOCIETY OF ARTS.

The programme of the Indian Section of the Society of Arts for next session announces papers by Sir W. W. Hunter, K.C.S.I., on "Ten Years of Progress in India;" by Sir E. N. C. Braddon, K.C.M.G., Agent-General for Tasmania on "Australasia as a Field for Anglo-Indian Colonisation;" by Sir Juland Danvers, K.C.S.I., on "Indian Manufactures;" and by J. A. Baines, I.C.S., Imperial Census Commissioner for India, on "Caste and Occupation at the last Census of India." By the courtesy of Mr. S. Digby, Secretary of the Indian Section, I am enabled to add that Mr. J. Barr Robertson has also promised a paper on "Bimetallism," and Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., one on "Agricultural Indebtedness in the Deccan." Mr. H. Thirkell White, C.I.E., will open the session on 12th January, with an address on "Upper Burma under British Rule," when Major-General Sir George White, K.C.B., the new Commander-in-Chief in India, will preside. Sir Theodore Hope, K.C.S.I., has promised to take the chair on 19th January, when Mr. Robertson reads his paper; Sir W. W. Hunter reads his on 16th February; and Sir Alexander Wilson, formerly President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, takes the chair when Sir Juland Danvers discusses "Indian Manufactures."

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INDIA

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MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI, M.P., ON HIS ELECTION.

THE confirmation of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's election to the House of Commons is the event of the day in Indian matters. Had the decision of the election judges been adverse to him the general effect upon Indian public opinion would have been disastrous. It would have been difficult to explain to the Indian Community, both educated and uneducated, that the unseating of Mr. Naoroji was due to the eccentricities of English election law, and not to personal or racial prejudice. But "all's well that ends well"; after a three days' battle in the law courts Mr. Naoroji's opponent withdrew his petition, and the first "Member for India" is allowed to retain his seat without further trouble.

The significance of Mr. Naoroji's election lies in his universal acceptance by the people of India. It is idle for bigoted politicians to argue that, in spite of the long residence of the Parsis in the country, a Parsi of Bombay is as great a foreigner to the majority of the people of India in religion and in race as a European. The people of India have not endorsed this view. They have universally recognized Mr. Naoroji to be one of themselves; the long years during which he has striven in their service have won for him a reverent respect and affectionate admiration; and his election was hailed with enthusiasm in every single corner of the Empire of India. It is necessary to grasp the universality of this opinion in order to appreciate the bad effect which a different issue to the Central Finsbury election petition would have produced. Central Finsbury deserved well of the Empire last July in triumphing over prejudice and electing Lord Salisbury's "black man;" and it is a matter for general congratulation that the election judges, Mr. Justice Cave and Mr. Justice Vaughan Williams, did not object to the arrangement come to by the parties concerned, and have validated the election.

Mr. Naoroji desires to take advantage of the first issue of the new series of INDIA to express his thanks alike to the electors of Central Finsbury and to those sympathizers throughout the British Empire who have aided him with their hearty good wishes. In another part of this number will be found the letter which he addressed to the Indian National Congress, announcing his hopes and intentions as an English legislator. The existence of the petition against his return naturally made him unwilling to speak with confidence as to his future programme of operations. He felt himself hampered in the free expression of his hopes by the fear that by some mischance he might yet have been prevented from taking a full share in the work of Parliament. But now that his seat is assured he desires through the pages of INDIA to emphasize the lines laid down in his letter to the Congress. He wishes once more to impress upon the people of India that though he is willing as he has ever been to devote his time to the cause of Indian Reform, nevertheless he has to recognise his limitations. It is not in the power of mortal man to represent adequately a vast and varied population like that of India, and he begs his compatriots to remember that it is his duty as well as his pleasure to support inquiry into national rather than into personal grievances. He will do his very best to investigate well-authenticated cases of oppression or hardship that are brought before him but he cannot undertake to represent them to the House of Commons unless they illustrate some source of general misgovernment. He stands by every syllable of his letter to the Congress, and one of his chief regrets with regard to the petition presented against him is that the necessity of his presence in London prevented him from meeting his beloved fellow labourers in the great cause of Indian Reform, when assembled in Congress at Allahábád.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, "Member for India," wishes further to remind the people of India that he is in the House of Commons member for Central Finsbury. He has to watch over the interests of his English Constituency, for he has promised his supporters faithfully that his obligations to India shall not in any way interfere with his duties as an English borough member. Persons who have never left India cannot understand the multifarious duties involved in being an English Member of Parliament. Mr. Naoroji has gallantly undertaken to fulfil those duties. That is to say, he has promised to be present, and he will keep his promise, not only at political meetings called by his own political party, but at those numerous social and charitable functions which are allied to no party. In these functions it is fortunately the custom in England to sink political animosity, and it is pleasing to be able to state that Mr. Naoroji and Captain Penton, his late and unsuccessful opponent, have always met on terms of perfect courtesy at such gatherings. The

last instance of this pleasant intercourse was a few days before Captain Penton's petition against Mr. Naoroji's return was heard. The two rivals met at the annual meeting of the Clerkenwell Benevolent Society, and their cordiality towards each other evoked general attention.

In addition to charitable undertakings Mr. Naoroji warmly interests himself in the work of various temperance and friendly societies in his constituency. He is an Odd Fellow, a Forester, a Druid, and a Good Templar, and is to be seen at his best when presiding over a Band of Hope Society and addressing the little children, whose hearts he knows so well how to touch. He has also many engagements with the various Trades Unions, Trade Societies, and Working Men's Clubs, which supported him heartily at the last election. Mr. Naoroji's occupations are not limited to Central Finsbury. The fact that one of their Indian fellow subjects has been chosen to fill a seat in the House of Commons has deeply impressed the imagination of the English people generally. The "Member for India" daily receives invitations from associations and clubs, both political and non-political, to address meetings all over the country. It is impossible for him to accept all these invitations, but Mr. Naoroji wishes to place on record his gratitude to the English people for the general interest they evince in him, and to state publicly that he looks upon these compliments as being paid to him in his character as the first Indian Member of Parliament and not as a tribute to himself personally.

There is another important cause which fills up much of Mr. Naoroji's time. His work on the *Poverty of India* has created much interest in all political, financial, and commercial circles. Whether his conclusions be accepted or not—and they are hotly opposed by many—a general desire is felt to hear a more complete expression of his views. Mr. Naoroji was for many years in business in London, and his commercial abilities are generally recognised by his fellow citizens. He has therefore been invited not only to attend the London Chamber of Commerce, and to address the Institute of Bankers, but to enlighten provincial bodies throughout the country upon the important topic which he has made his own. He has also been requested to give evidence before the Indian Currency Committee now sitting under the presidency of Lord Herschell, and feeling the weight of the responsibility devolving upon him he is taking the utmost pains in order to be able to express his views in the most lucid and convincing manner. The people of India, he trusts, will, in consideration of his manifold duties to his own constituents and to the people of England, pardon him if he should seem to be at all remiss in his endeavours to serve them. He will do all in the power of mortal man to fulfil the duties imposed upon him by his unique position as the first Indian Member of the House of Commons. He feels conscious that his conduct and attitude in the House will be closely watched and keenly criticised, and he recognises that it largely depends upon his behaviour as an English legislator whether he shall be the first of a succession of Indian Members of Parliament. He wishes to reiterate the assurance given in his letter to the Indian National Congress, that he is more than ever ready to devote himself to the cause of the public weal.

Mr. Naoroji thinks it his duty to express his gratitude for the great kindness which was shown to him when he took his seat in the House of Commons last August. Though it was known that a petition had been entered against his return, and that owing to the smallness of his majority he might be unseated, he was received everywhere with the greatest cordiality. During his long years of energetic work for the Indian people in London, Mr. Naoroji had become perfectly acquainted with the traditions, forms and procedure of the House of Commons. He did not enter the House as an absolute stranger, and was saved by his previous experience from falling into the curious errors which mark the *début* of most M.P's. It was gratifying to him in the extreme to be recognised and welcomed by the burly policeman at the door of the House of Commons and by all the officials attached to the service of the House. There was a widespread feeling that Mr. Naoroji's entrance into the House was an event of national importance. The English House of Commons has passed through many curious phases and witnessed many picturesque and historic scenes, but it may be doubted if there was ever one more impressive than the appearance of a quiet and smiling Indian gentleman taking his place among the representatives of Her Majesty's English, Scotch, and Irish subjects. Both sides of the House felt the significance of the event; it marks a stage in the evolution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland into an Imperial Power; and it afforded an object lesson of the vastness and extent of the Empire. All witnesses of the scene felt its significance, and from the policeman at the gate to Mr. Speaker in the Chair all alike welcomed Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P. for Finsbury and Member for India.

Finally, Mr. Naoroji wishes to express his acknowledgment of the personal courtesy shown to him by his opponent Captain Penton alike during his canvass and during the progress of the petition. It might seem a little ungracious for the gallant Captain to have endeavoured to unseat Mr. Naoroji when it is remembered that the hopes of the people of India were concentrated upon "their" member, and that his rejection would have caused widespread despair and possibly imputations that Mr. Naoroji had been unseated on account of his birth. But the honour of being a Member of the House of Commons is so great, that Mr. Naoroji can be magnanimous enough to appreciate his opponent's temptation in endeavouring to upset his majority of five, even though under similar circumstances in 1886 Captain Penton's former opponent made no such effort. And in one thing Mr. Naoroji has had his reward. His success in the Law Courts has given the English people and the English press another opportunity to declare its pleasure apart from all political motives at the return of the first Indian member for Parliament. Some of these expressions of opinion are quoted on another page. Mr. Naoroji wishes however to express through the pages of INDIA his gratitude for the numerous letters and telegrams of sympathy which he has received. These have come not only

from all parts of the United Kingdom and of India, but from the remotest parts of the Empire, and especially from Australia and Cape Colony. To these sympathisers Mr. Naoroji begs once more to express his heartfelt gratitude.

BHANG!

By W. S. Caine, M.P.

Among the many dubious sources from which the Government of India derives its income, the trade in Indian hemp drugs, known under the various names of Bhang, Ganja, Majoom, Charas, Siddhi, &c., is the one which least bears the light of day. One-fifth of the entire revenue of the Bengal Excise is drawn from this source, amounting last year to 23,52,000 rupees.

The plant from which this drug is manufactured is grown in the District of Dinájpur. Each cultivator is licensed by Government, which takes the entire out-put, and, having manipulated it, stores it in licensed warehouses, whence it is delivered to wholesale licensed dealers, and by them to the retail licensed dealers. The total acreage under this crop is about 2,500 *bigas* (half an acre), employing about one coolie to each *biga*, and the quantity of the finished drug produced is about 600,000 pounds weight annually. This drug is the most maddening intoxicant known. Many of the worst crimes reported in India, such as murder and the mutilation of wives, are committed under its influence. Mr. Curzon, the late Under-Secretary for India, stated in the House of Commons last session that a very large proportion of lunatics in India have been consumers of Bhang; out of 2,202 persons admitted into the lunatic asylums of Lower Bengal, no less than 641 were due to Ganja. The various authorities on Materia Medica are agreed as to its nature and qualities. It is an excitant of great power, leading to mania, and especially homicidal mania, and to chronic insanity. I have frequently tried to purchase small quantities of it in chemists' shops in this country, but have been invariably refused, unless I obtained a medical prescription. Dr. B. W. Richardson, the first authority living on poisons, says of this drug:

"The effect of Indian hemp is to produce an intense intoxication, which, differing considerably from alcoholic intoxication, is as decisive in its action and captivating in its tendency. What may be its permanent influence amongst those who indulge in its use has not been determined as yet, with sufficient accuracy to enable us to speak with the same precision as we can now speak of the effects of alcohol. We have, however, sufficient evidence of *bad* effect to be certain that the peculiar intoxication induced by the narcotic is certainly destructive to sound mental life, and that those who can exercise influence over their fellow men of our Eastern possessions, so as to bring to an end a pernicious habit which seems to be gaining ground, are rendering one of the best of services to mankind in their day and generation."

Mr. Westmacott, one of the ablest men in the Indian Civil Service, Commissioner of Excise, in last year's Report, commenting on a slight falling off in the revenue from Ganja, says:—"I think it must be "held satisfactory that there is a decreased con- "sumption of *this most pernicious article*."

Mr. Plowden, the Commissioner of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts (Berár), urges in his last report the entire prohibition of the cultivation and sale of hemp drugs.

The drug is universally condemned and execrated by all sound public opinion in India; indeed, the only advocate of its use I ever discovered, was the Solon who has just identified himself with the abolition of trial by jury in Bengal, Sir Charles Elliott, who writes the following choice little paragraph in the last administrative report of the Bengal Excise Department:—

"The Lieutenant-Governor must decline to endorse Mr. Westmacott's sweeping condemnation of *ganja* as a most pernicious article. Sir Charles Elliott has known many instances of its steady and regular use by most respectable people, who find themselves able to do hard work with its help, and who feel no injurious effects from it. In this respect it resembles opium. After taking a small quantity of either drug, boatmen, and dak-runners can go long distances, and coolies carry heavy loads, without requiring much food, so that both articles are, *like alcohol, a food of a highly concentrated nature*."

It is simply appalling that the destinies of the people of Bengal should be in the hands of a man who can write such hopeless rubbish, and who can allow mere considerations of revenue to blind him to the moral degradation and social ruin produced by this "food of a highly concentrated nature." If, when the Lieutenant-Governor was writing thus he had rung his bell for the report of Dr. Watt, the Government Reporter on Economic Products, he would have read that "Ganja smoking is a more "injurious vice than that of opium, for the Ganja "inebriate cannot always be said to be in a state of "harmless irrationality and helpless intoxication." But then Sir Charles Elliott, and the wise, benevolent Christian Government of which he is the distinguished head, sells this pernicious article by retail all over Bengal, in about 3,000 shops, making an annual profit of about 24 lakhs of rupees.

It is instructive to compare the action of other governments in regard to this pernicious drug with that of the Government of India. The use of Indian hemp, under the name of "Haschish," was at one time very widespread in the Levant, and became the most serious source of demoralisation among the Greeks, Turks, and Egyptians.

The following is a literal translation of a decree published in 1891 by the Greek Government:—

"Concerning prohibition of the smoking of the vegetable substance called 'Haschisch.'

"The Director of the Administrative Police of Athens and the Piræus.

"At Athens, this 20th day of September, 1891, we, the Director of the Administrative Police of Athens and the Piræus taking into consideration Articles 21, 56, and 57 of the Royal Decree of the 31st December, 1836, and Article 6 of the Law concerning the establishment of the Administrative Police; and having observed that in many cafés and outlying shops in the cities of Athens and Piræus, use is made, by smoking, of the vegetable substance called 'Haschisch' which, in the opinion of the police doctors, is noxious to the health of those who make use of it,

"Being bound by duty to prevent the harm produced by such use of 'Haschisch,'

"Do make the following order:—

"(*a*) We forbid the use, by smoking, of the above mentioned vegetable substance, both in cafés and other shops, and;

"(*b*) We forbid the sale by dealers in such vegetable sub-

stance to owners of cafés and other persons unknown who are not dealers in it.

"Persons infringing the present order, which shall be inserted also in the official *Gazette*, shall be punished in accordance with Articles 560, 561 and 564 of the Penal Code; and if they are taken in the act, they will be conducted to the police office, and, in the meantime, the vegetable substance in question found in their shops will be seized.

"The execution of the present order is entrusted to the police and the gendarmerie.

"The Director of Police,
(Signed) "J. Spyromitios.
"The secretary,
(Signed) "E. A. Sotirchos."

The "Royal Degree of 31st December, 1836" is based upon a law of 1833, which empowers the police to prevent the consumption of everything which is injurious to public health, and by the local enforcement of this decree the prohibition of the use of "Haschisch" is more or less effectual.

The Government, however, feeling that this is not enough, have asked the Sanitary Board, a Government department, to report on the whole subject, and their report is before me as I write. It is a vigorous document, full of detailed information, and it recommends that:

"Its use should be immediately and rigorously forbidden, that the cafés which supply 'haschisch' to their customers should be closed, that the importation of Indian hemp and of its preparations as an article of trade—not for medicinal purposes—and its cultivation in Greece should be forbidden by law."

The closing sentence of their report says—

"The Sanitary Board greatly fears that if the use of 'haschisch' be not forbidden at once it will imperceptibly and gradually extend into a wider circle, not only among the common refuse of society, but among the nation itself, and will shortly produce those disastrous results of which a condensed but faithful picture has been given above, and which have been observed in hot countries and have caused so much misery among them."

With regard to Turkey and Egypt the laws against the sale and importation of Indian hemp are very draconic. In November, 1877, an order was sent from Constantinople to Egypt to the effect that all "haschisch" brought into Egypt was to be seized and destroyed, and, finally, in March, 1879, the importation and cultivation were prohibited by a Khedevial decree, which still stands. During 1892 two vessels were seized in the Port of Alexandria with large quantities on board, but owing to the stupid capitulations, the Consul-General of the State to which the ships belonged intervened, and one escaped with all her cargo, the other being released after the confiscation of the "haschisch" she carried. There is every disposition on the part of the Egyptian Government towards a thorough crushing out of the smuggled consumption of this baneful drug, and it is only hindered in doing so by the capitulations, which the British Government ought to have swept out of existence when it undertook the responsibility of governing Egypt. If Sir Charles Elliott were to do in Turkey, Egypt, and Greece what he is doing in Bengal, he would get "six "months' hard."

It is time these facts were made public with regard to this infamous traffic, on the part of a Christian Government, in the most damnable intoxicant on the face of the earth. The British Empire has not hitherto been led in moral reforms by the "unspeakable Turk." It is my intention to bring the question of the absolute prohibition in India of the growth and sale of Indian hemp drugs under the notice of Parliament next session by direct Resolution. If I fail to get a day for the purpose, opportunity can easily be found by an amendment on the Indian Budget.

Reviews.

MILITARY ADVENTURERS.

A Particular Account of the European Military Adventurers of Hindustan from 1784 *to* 1803, by Herbert Compton. (T. Fisher Unwin, 1892. Price 16s.)

When English writers dilate upon the anarchic condition of India at the close of the last century, and dwell upon the evil state of internecine war from which the establishment of the British supremacy relieved the whole country, they are prone to attribute the melancholy situation of affairs to native agents alone. They are apt to forget that numerous Europeans served the principal native Princes and encouraged their warfare with each other; that at least one European, an Irishman, George Thomas, after freebooting on his own account, established himself as an independent chief; and that some of the worst atrocities of the period, notably the massacre at Patná in 1763, were the work of Europeans. When strictures are passed on the plundering expeditions of the Maráthás and the cruel ravages of the Pindárís, and it is argued that such horrors and the uncertainty caused by constant war justified the expansion of the British power, which led to the establishment of the *Pax Britannica*, it should not be forgotten that Europeans played their part in keeping India in perpetual unrest, and that European adventurers, French, English, Italian, German, and Eurasian, were every whit as great enemies to the peaceful evolution of India as Maráthá irregular armies or Pindárí robber bands. To those who look upon the Indian history of the latter half of the 18th century from this point of view, the European military adventurers seem only an additional element in prolonging the period of the turmoil, which devastated India and retarded its progression in the path of civilisation and prosperity for many a long year. To patriotic Indians the memory of them must be hateful, as their careers led to the dire necessity of admitting that it were well, if only for a time, that India should be ruled by an alien race. To believers in the fancied superiority of Western civilisation, these types of the freelances of the Middle Ages masquerading in the last century must appear as an extraordinary anomaly. To philosophical students of history their feat of equipping armies with the latest improvements of 18th century military science prove that it was necessary for an European power to take the lead in India. To all lovers of humanity the existence of these mercenary soldiers in an India which had owned the beneficent sway of Akbar shows the

survival of the objectionable race of soldiers of fortune, who have done so much evil in all parts of the world where prolonged war has led to their noxious growth.

But, fortunately, to Mr. Herbert Compton they appear in a very different light, else a very interesting book would never have been written. It needs the enthusiasm of sincere admiration to encourage a man to dig in the dusty files of old periodicals and to work amongst musty documents. Mr. Compton believes the heroes of his book to have been heroes indeed, though he acknowledges their shortcomings as men, and his attitude is shared by most persons, who—alas! for poor human nature—prefer the romantic details of the lives of daring soldiers to the prosaic story of the careers of great administrators, who devote themselves to preserving the peace and promoting the prosperity of the mass of the people. In his introduction Mr. Compton strikes the keynote of his book. It is better to quote in full than to boil down the glowing words in which he describes the motive of his book. "The European Military "Adventurers of Hindustan," he writes: "belong "to an heroic age which seems further removed "from our's than the mere lapse of a century "suggests. It is probable that, saving to the student of Indian history, their names are but as "indistinct items on a forgotten scroll, whose record "is nearly obliterated by the dust of oblivion. "They and their deeds are blended into a barbaric "past, when history was written in blood not in "books, and of which scarce a vestige remains in "the civilized Indian Empire of the Victorian "Zenith. And yet only a hundred years ago these "dead and gone adventurers created armies, con-"quered kingdoms, overturned princes and ruled "provinces, winning such distinction and wielding "such personal power as are not within the reach "of modern endeavour. Forming a link between the "eras of oriental despotism and European Govern-ent, they bedizened the introduction of Western htenment with the gaudy paraphernalia of East. But Fate planted them in one of those ods of transition which by their very nature temporary, and they share with it a short-lived ne. Their individual places in History are nited to a paragraph or, at most, a page. They re but units in the sum of India's story—stray rafts on its capital of achievement which have een retired, filed away and forgotten. None eed these faded personalities now. The whisper igne's name is as powerless to compel as the thunder of his cannon to create e mention of George Thomas awakens sive recognition even in hearts alert to nce of Romance and Adventure; the pinions of Perron have long ceased to price of Indian Stock or set heads in Leadenhall Street. As for the lesser of Fortune—the centurions and the lieu- of the Mercenary Armies of Native India are dust of the common dust, whose the greedy march of English enterprise East has shuffled out of sight, reducing chievements to the common level which s not a headstone to view. Yet each in his "different way, designedly or unconsciously, directly "or indirectly, worked towards one common end by "assisting in bringing about the conditions that "paved the way for the establishment of English "supremacy in India; and each, when his personal "share in the drama was finished, and the last "great act opened, passed off the stage unnoticed "and unknown, and left the completion of the task "and the applause it evoked, to other actors."

This passage is a fair specimen not only of Mr. Compton's attitude towards his heroes, but also of his literary style. It is for the reader to draw his own conclusion as to whether he wishes to read the whole book or not. Yet there can be no question that the subject is a very fascinating one, for it embodies many curious side lights on the state of India at the close of the last century, and the author is, as the extract shows, fully aware of the possibilities it affords for romantic treatment. He uses the term Hindustán in its strict sense of Upper India north of the Deccan, and his principal heroes are therefore naturally enough De Boigne and Perron, the successive commanders-in-chief of Sindia's forces, and George Thomas, the Irish adventurer, who carved out for himself a principality in Hariána in the Punjab. Mádhava Ráo Sindia has recently been ably treated in Mr. H. G. Keene's volume in the "Rulers of India" series, and it is interesting to study not only the great Maráthá chieftain, but also the creator of his army of the "New Model" from the different standpoints of Mr. Compton and Mr. Keene. But Mr. Compton carries the story much further than Mr. Keene, for he not only sketches the rise of the gallant Maráthá army which withstood the British so courageously at Assaye and Laswárí, but its destruction at those two battles during the reign of Mádhava Ráo's successor, Daulat Ráo. The extraordinary adaptability of the Maraáthá race was never better illustrated than by the rapid and successful formation of Sindia's army. It was only in 1784 that Benoît de Boigne, soldier of fortune, entered Sindia's service, yet in 1803 the army he had trained and disciplined in European models withstood the English with more resolute tenacity than any native force encountered by Clive or Munro, or than any force which the English were destined to meet until they stood face to face with the Sikhs in 1845. "These fellows fought like devils, "or rather like heroes," wrote Lord Lake of the battle of Laswárí, "and had we not made a disposition for "attack in a style that we should have done against "the most formidable army we could have been "opposed to, I verily believe, from the position they "had taken, that we might have failed." "The "battle," wrote Sir Arthur Wellesley of Assaye, "was the most severe I have ever fought in India. "Sindia's infantry behaved well. They were driven "from the guns only by the bayonet, and some of "their corps retreated in great order and formed "again." Such gallant conduct did honour to the Maráthá race, and if De Boigne who trained and led them at the first deserves the name of hero, so also do the brave soldiers, who fought under his command and that of his European successors.

The career of George Thomas does not illustrate a great fact or mark an important development like

that of De Boigne. To us this dashing son of Tipperary seems rather a vulgar swash-buckler, as drunken as he was brave, and that he should have succeeded so much and so long as he did, is yet another testimony to the utter disorganisation of Upper India during the time in which he flourished. Mr. Compton at the end of his three biographies of De Boigne, Thomas, and Perron, adds an Appendix containing short sketches of the lives of other notable but subordinate adventurers, which afford a further testimony to his diligence in research. Without being hyper-critical it might be pointed out that the birthplace of Sombre or Sumroo in this appendix was not *Saltsburg*, p. 400. But he has not paid his readers the compliment of compiling an index. The casual reader may not need one, but we can assure Mr. Compton, in case he is too modest, that his book contains very much of permanent value to the student of Indian history, and that it would be a real boon for such a student to have an index to assist him in the work of looking up a reference.

THE LAND-TENURES OF INDIA.

The Land-Systems of British India, being a Manual of the Land-Tenures, and of the Systems of Land-Revenue Administration, prevalent in the several Provinces. By B. H. BADEN-POWELL, C.I.E. (3 volumes. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1892. Price £3 3s.)

FOR many generations the University of Oxford has exhibited an enlightened interest in India. It was one of her most brilliant sons, Sir William Jones, who unlocked the stores of ancient Hindu learning to Europe, more than a century ago. Another, a few years later, Lord Wellesley, showed himself not only an ambitious, but a sympathetic ruler of India. At Oxford was founded the first professorship of Sanskrit in England by an officer in the East India Company's army, and the tenants of the Boden chair, Horace Hayman Wilson and Sir Monier Monier-Williams, have both done great things for the advancement of the true knowledge of India and its classical language in England. The latter has done more. In the Indian Institute he has created a centre for Indian students, and for the promotion of the study of India among English students, at Oxford, which does honour to himself and the University. But it may be doubted if the University has not done better service to India than all this in allowing its press, the world-famed Clarendon Press, to undertake the publication of books relating to India, which, from their nature or extent might otherwise have remained unpublished. The sumptuous series of "The Sacred "Books of the East," the elegant little volumes of the "Rulers of India," the monumental "Sanskrit "Dictionary" of Sir Monier Monier-Williams, an the admirable volumes of Mr. Whitley Stokes on the Indian codes, would probably have never seen the light, but for the patriotism and enlightenment of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press. And it is no small advantage to the cause of Indian scholarship that works such as these should appear with all the prestige of being printed and published by the University Press. The enterprise redounds to the credit of the University authorities and deserves the fullest acknowledgment of all who are interested in spreading a correct knowledge of India among the English people.

The latest important publication of this nature issued by the Clarendon Press is a new edition of Mr. Baden-Powell's "Manual of the Land-Tenures "and Land Revenue Systems of British India." This work appeared in its original form in 1882, and at once became indispensable to anyone who wished for a clear view of the whole of the complicated land-systems of India. Indian officials, who have to deal with a single Province or a single District, might not have found it of value; but students, who wanted to understand the diversities in the ownership of land from the Himálayas to Cape Comorin, rejoiced at last in the possession of a volume which succinctly gave them exactly what they needed. In the new edition the familiar green volume, printed at Calcutta, is replaced by three stout and stately volumes, adorned with every luxury of paper and printing, and provided with excellent maps. The book is almost entirely re-written, and greatly enlarged, and it would be ungracious to sigh over the trouble involved in the use of three volumes instead of one. The new edition bears upon it traces of unceasing care and minute revision, and does credit alike to its author and its printer and publisher.

The importance of the land revenue in India is so enormous that there is no need to expatiate upon it here. Every variation of tenure, every modification of the land revenue system affects large numbers of the population, and a thorough knowledge of the facts detailed by Mr. Baden-Powell is necessary for an adequate estimation of the actual position of the people of India. It is worse than useless to dispute over the advantages and disadvantages of the different tenures prevailing in India; they are now practically stereotyped under the present Bri[...] administration. The permanent settlement of [...] the different *ráyátwári* settlements in Madra[...] Bombay, the village community system o[...] North-West and the *talukdári* settlement of [...] have to be reckoned with as facts; and the pru[...] reformer has to endeavour to lighten the pressur[...] each upon the cultivator by watching and criticisi[...] their operation instead of objecting to any one [...] them *en bloc*, or trying to point out the superior[...] of any one over the others. There are pec[...] hardships attached to each form of co[...] land revenue, and a thorough knowle[...] different systems is the only thing whic[...] vent the hasty generalisations that give[...] tunity for the scoffer to scoff. The ex[...] difficulty in the way of understanding I[...] blems caused by the wide contrast be[...] administrative problems in different pr[...] illustrated by the multifarious land-sy[...] scribed by Mr. Baden-Powell. The onl[...] grasp this difficulty is to study them toge[...] to learn the historical reasons which led [...] establishment. One evil affects them all—[...] of elasticity. As the British Governmen[...] great landlord of the greatest part of I[...]

succession to the former rulers, it owes a duty to its tenants in alleviating the burden of the land revenue, whether it be regarded as rent or as a land tax, when a bad season recurs. This, in theory, the Government of India desires to do, but the importance of the land revenue as the chief source of income is so great that its servants hardly dare to allow the relief to the people which is really needed in bad years. The financial authorities would cry out at the idea of land revenue depending on the goodness or badness of the season, as giving them an unstable revenue, and the cultivator pays the penalty in being bound by an inelastic system, which in a bad year sweeps away the profit of good seasons or plunges him in debt to the village money-lender.

On the vexed question of periodical assessments Mr. Baden-Powell has a weighty paragraph, which deserves quotation. It is hardly necessary to say that it is written from the "official" standpoint in an optimistic vein, and that it will not be endorsed by Indian reformers. "An Oriental institution," he says, "is what it has grown to be by the effect of "custom and the wear and tear of historical events. "To take it up, turn it round, and force it into the "mould of any European definition or theory of "taxation is impossible. The land revenue is every- "where acquiesced in by the people and paid with- "out demur; it has the advantage of an immemorial "prescription, which in the East is a matter of first- "rate importance; and it is quite certain that no "other means of raising an equal revenue could be "devised, which would work with equally little "trouble and interference with the people. The "whole land-revenue machinery works as smoothly "as possible—even the difficulties of such districts "as Chittagong or Sylhet in Eastern Bengal and "Assam are mere local problems which are approach- "ing solution. Almost the only grave objection that "could be raised to the system is the cost of, as "well as the harassment of the people involved in, "the work of a 'settlement' with its survey and "record of the rights of landholders and tenants. "But this our modern systems have tended greatly "to reduce; and it is probable that before another "thirty years have passed the operation of revising "the revenue will be a matter which will be carried "out with hardly a perceptible ruffle of the quiet "cause of district and agricultural business" (vol. i, pp. 280, 281). It is a great thing that in a book like Mr. Baden-Powell's, every word of which is carefully weighed, it should be admitted that the periodical "settlements" for reassessment are expensive and harassing to the people, and one can pardon him the official optimism in his concluding sentence for this admission.

In fine, Mr. Baden-Powell's book is a storehouse of facts, which would yield material for dozens of essays, historical, legal, and sociological. It is a book which must be studied by any one who would form a clear idea of the great administrative problems of modern India. It is a book of surpassing value for the serious inquirer into the nature of the most complicated Indian questions. But it is not a great book. The day may come—nay, it must soon come with the increasing interest given to Indian questions—when some more brilliant writer than Mr. Baden-Powell will tear the heart, the inner meaning, out of the facts Mr. Baden-Powell has so industriously collected and so carefully displayed, and will show the essential points of the land tenures of British India in their historical origin and their administrative bearing in a few eloquent pages. It is ever so. Dr. Nares' compilation on Burleigh lives by the opportunity it gave for Macaulay's famous essay. But even when that is done, Mr. Baden-Powell's "Manual" will yet remain indispensable to the student of Indian questions and to the official who desires to know something of the land-systems outside his own Province, as Dr. Nares' "Burleigh" is still of value to the student of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. And nothing can ever detract from the joy given to the eye by the two maps of India supplied with vol. i. showing the sequence of territorial acquisition and the areas of the different systems of Land Revenue Settlement, for by means of them can be learnt at a glance what the brain takes months and years to realise.

INDIAN FOLK-LORE.

Indian Fairy Tales. Selected and edited by Joseph Jacobs, illustrated by John D. Batten. (London: David Nutt, 1892. Price 6s.)

Everything that tends to bring closer the relations between England and India and to prove to the inhabitants of both countries that they are close akin to each other comes within the scope of "India." It is not therefore as a delightful collection of charming fairy stories, illustrated with quaint and graceful skill, that I propose to notice the last volume issued by the industrious Mr. Jacobs. Doubtless, these Indian Fairy Tales will become an equally successful Christmas gift book with its predecessors, and will give pleasure to many English children. In the quaint conceits and unexpected turns of the plot Indian fairy stories contain just the qualities which children love. In beast stories, which have been popular in Europe since the days of Æsop, Indian popular literature is excessively rich. In the art of narration the Indian story tellers are past masters. The art has flourished for long centuries, and in its course has learnt the essential virtue of simplicity. Motives and language are alike simple and easily intelligible, and the English child who cannot laugh at the adventures of the "talkative tortoise" and at the explanation of "why the fish laughed" has lost entirely the childish merit of easy mirth.

But it is not as a Christmas book that Mr. Jacobs' volume deserves the hearty commendation of all readers of "India." Great as is the debt which we all owe to him as a prominent student of folk-lore, and an earnest investigator into the early history of myths, the editor has added another claim to our gratitude for the tone he has adopted in this edition of "Indian Fairy Tales." He freely acknowledges his debt to the many Indian collectors of folk-lore who have contributed to our knowledge of this fascinating subject. The way indeed was led by Miss Frere, the daughter of the eminent Governor of Bombay, Sir Bartle Frere, who in her charming

"Old Deccan Days" first introduced to English readers some of the wealth of Indian fairy lore. The stories published by Miss Frere were taken down from the lips of an old Indian ayah who belonged to the Lingayat caste but had become a Christian. Miss Frere has had many successors both Indian and English. Among the former may be noted Mr. Lal Behari Dé, Pandit Natesa Shastri, and Ramaswami Raju, whose "Folk Tales of Bengal," "Folk-lore of Southern India," and "Indian Fairy Tales" are all worthy specimens of the great Indian literary revival. It is satisfactory to find that modern Indian writers are so ready to co-operate in spreading a knowledge of the popular mythology of the Indian people. For too long European men of letters disregarded the importance of folk-lore. They failed to understand how great was the light it shed upon the true history of the mental and intellectual growth of nations. They despised, or affected to despise, the legends of the village hamlet and the stories of the nursery. They did not see that it was from these sources and these stories that a clue could be found to unravel much of the traditional history of the growth of a people. Contact with western civilisation has led Indian writers to seize upon the folk-tales of their people without going through the unnecessary stage of depreciating their value. It is true that collections of Indian popular tales have long been circulated in India, but no attempt was made to collect them scientifically and to explain their relations to similar collections in Europe, until the modern recognition of folk-lore which is a striking feature in the present age of European literature. But though native writers have not been idle, we still owe much as Mr. Jacobs has shown to members of the Anglo-Indian services, and even more to English ladies like Miss Frere who, instead of passing their time in the customary lassitude of Anglo-Indian social life, have used their leisure to study the popular stories of the people among whom their lot was cast. Mr. Jacobs specially notes the services in this respect of Miss Stokes, Mrs. Steel, and Mrs. Kingscote, as well as the scientific works of Captain Temple and Mr. Knowles. The result of this literary labour has been, that India now ranks among the best represented countries for printed folk-tales. According to Mr. Jacobs, there are now probably some 600 to 700 folk-tales of India, printed and translated in accessible form. The only countries which exceed this number are Russia with 1,500; Germany with 1,200, and Italy and France with 1,000 each.

The most interesting part of Mr. Jacobs' volume to those who look to him for guidance in folk-lore is contained in his discussion of the vexed question, whether Europe has borrowed the bulk of her popular stories from India or not. The famous Professor Benfey held it to be a fact that the mass of European fairy and folk literature came direct from India. Since his time much truly scientific work has been done in drawing parallels between the different variants of well-known stories found in different parts of India and in different European countries. According to Mr. Jacobs "this question "has taken a new departure with the researches of "M. Emanuel Cosquin in his *Contes populaires de* "*Lorraine* (Paris, 1886), undoubtedly the most im-"portant contribution to the scientific study of the "folk-tale since the Grimms." Mr. Cosquin working upon the accumulation of folk-tales during the last 30 years, contends that the whole of them have come from the East, ultimately from India, not by literary transmission as Benfey contended, but by oral transmission. The big question as to whether the folk-tales, common to the Aryan communities in Asia and in Europe did not rather come from a common source, is one of the problems which cannot be decided until scholars have come to some agreement as to the origin and general development of the Aryan races. The question is not quite on all fours with the problem of the origin and the connection of the Aryan languages. But the two are very closely connected, and it is noteworthy that some of the most striking work in both departments has been done by Professor Max Müller. It is a matter of essential importance for the English people to recognise the closeness of their kinship with the more progressive of the Indian races. And the study of comparative folk-lore like the study of comparative language is doing much to bring out this important fact. Our fellow subjects in India are no aliens like the Tartars or the Negroes. They speak languages closely related to our own; their children are rocked to sleep with stories which are essentially the same; and their civilisation presents many points of close resemblance to our own.

It is on this account that I commend Mr. Jacobs' volume most heartily both to my English and Indian readers. Folk-lore is a department of work in which it may be fairly expected that the educated natives of India may render very good service. Some of them have done so, as has been already noted above. What is needed is that their good example should be followed. If educated men and women would only write down the popular stories which they have known from their youth up, or have heard in their Indian homes, they will be doing considerable service to the cause of comparative folk-lore. It would be a great pleasure to the editor if he could publish in the pages of INDIA any new stories or variants of well-known stories. What is wanted are accurate and well-authenticated versions of folk-tales. There are plenty of scholars such as Captain Temple and Mr. Jacobs himself, who will be able to draw out the importance of each story and its comparative value. And in doing the work, humble as it may appear, of collecting the popular tales of their country-folk, Indian scholars will be contributing to the great work of showing the close connection between the English and the Indian peoples.

AN AUSTRALIAN STATESMAN ON INDIA.

Irrigated India: An Australian View of India and Ceylon, their Irrigation and Agriculture, by the Hon. ALFRED DEAKIN, M.L.A., formerly Chief Secretary and Minister of Water Supply of Victoria, Australia. (Thacker and Co., 1893. Price 6s.)

BY the courtesy of Mr. Philip Mennell, who has seen this volume through the press, an early copy of this most important work has been sent for review

in the pages of India. The book is valuable in many respects, in its evidence of technical knowledge, in its careful elucidation of many important problems, in its thorough mastery of details, but above all in its sympathetic treatment of the burning questions of the day in India. Mr. Deakin is a well-known and experienced Australian statesman, who visited India not as a tourist in search of adventure or pleasure, but in order to investigate the state of Indian irrigation. With this definite aim before him, he went to many places to which the ordinary traveller never goes, and studied certain questions with qualifications derived from his intimate knowledge of irrigation in Australia and America, which give his chapters exceptional value. The book is well written, and Mr. Deakin knows how to bring out the meaning of statistics in such a way as to keep his figures from being mere dull lists and tables. We have only one fault to find with the book, and that is that it has no index, a most serious drawback to its usefulness.

It is difficult to review a volume abounding in details and bristling with figures unless the reviewer is prepared either to summarise or to criticise the writer's facts. And it will be better, therefore, to point out shortly the scheme and character of the book. Mr. Deakin carefully describes the great irrigation systems of India. He gives their history and scope, analyses their assistance to agriculture, and from the result of his own observations depicts their present condition. But his pages are lightened with the record of his personal experiences and impressions, and many of his descriptions of places, as, for instance, of Bombay, on pp. 88, 89, and Trichinopoli on p. 154, are picturesque and interesting. He also warmly acknowledges on nearly every page the kindness and hospitality he received from the various officials he encountered, and expresses his admiration of the irrigation engineers and their work with ungrudging enthusiasm. His remarks on the native character, on the prospects of Indian agriculture and on the various administrative questions concerning the assessment of the land revenue are always shrewd and often convincing. He looks on India through Australian glasses, and the novelty of this point of view accentuates the value of his remarks. The book should be carefully studied by all interested in India, for there is not a chapter in it that does not suggest careful reflection. It is in every way a remarkable volume, and though it might be effectively criticised from a specialist point of view in certain of its details, it is a real contribution to a better knowledge of India. But one thought should be borne in mind by all who, after reading Mr. Deakin, begin to feel a national pride in the great work done by English engineers in India. Irrigation has not only fructified certain Districts; it has ruined others. Hundreds of square miles have been made sterile by the deposits of *reh* caused by the drawing off of water higher up the stream, and many families of hardy cultivators have been ruined through no fault of their own. It is the duty of the Government of India to pay special attention to these stricken Districts and not to allow the inhabitants to starve, while others flourish on the water supply they used to possess. Experiments have long been made to discover a means for the reclamation of this sterile *usar* land, but in the meanwhile special consideration should be paid to its unfortunate occupiers.

But to the reader of India the principal interest of Mr. Deakin's volume will be found in his attitude towards the cause of Indian reform. As an experienced Australian statesman his views must secure particular attention, and it is gratifying to read the words of high commendation which he uses towards the Indian National Congress, its leaders and its aims. It should encourage the Indian reformers to notice that their strenuous endeavours are being sympathetically watched in England's mighty colony as well in England itself, and it should give them new heart in their uphill work. Mr. Deakin is no verbose politician, but a real statesman, and his testimony should be recognised with gratitude. There is not space here to quote more than a few lines in his description of the Congress, and the reasonableness of its views. "What would happen," he says, "if the best Hindus were endowed with "control of the Treasury, or a place at the Council "table of the Provincial Governor, it is too early to "inquire. The probabilities are that irrigation "schemes would be pushed on, while the military "budget would be cut down, and the incidence of "taxation varied; but the contingency is not yet "near enough to render its present consideration "essential. The movement to secure a measure of "representation for the natives is now in its seventh "year, the sixth Congress sitting during the time of "my visit. Judging it by the men who took a "leading part in its proceedings it is influential and "strong. It must be admitted by the most captious "that the speeches made by its chiefs were worthy of "being uttered from any platform in the mother "country, or, indeed, in the House of Commons "itself. The English employed was not merely "correct, but apt, and at times choice; the style "was clear and strong, the logical construction com-"plete, and the periods often eloquent. There was "nothing except the names to tell the reader that "the addresses proceeded from the mouths of men "who were not of British blood. . . . . It is pre-"posterous to maintain that the ability displayed at "the Congress is not of itself a sufficient evidence of "fitness not only to create, but to compose a repre-"sentative body. . . . . None of the objects ac-"knowledged by the Congress are undesirable, and "indeed all of them represent ideals towards which "progress should be sought. The exclusion of "Hindus and Muhammadans of ability from the "Legislative Councils is a loss to both the natives "and the British; the public service needs to be "brought into closer sympathy with the masses; "the white non-official population of the country "have a right to be heard in public affairs, and to "be better recognized; the judiciary and executive "require to be severed; the offensiveness of the "bureaucracy needs to be checked, and the support "of the native peoples enlisted on the British side."

[*I regret to say that at the last moment reviews on Aitchison's "Lord Lawrence," Hunter's "Brief History of the Indian Peoples," "The Shampur Letters," and the "Journal of Indian Art," were crowded out.*—Ed.]

The Voice of India:

SELECTIONS FROM THE INDIAN PRESS.

TRIAL BY JURY IN BENGAL.

(Extracted from *The Statesman and Friend of India.*)

There never was a time in the history of these Provinces since the British became the paramount power when they were so misgoverned as now. Bengal has been misgoverned by previous Lieutenant-Governors, but certainly not to the present extent, and certainly not in that wilful and defiant spirit in which Sir Charles Elliott has deliberately and step by step proceeded in his work of maladministration. We say deliberately, for there is evident method in the process by which he has led up to the seemingly sudden abolition of trials by jury in cases of life and death. Let our countrymen of Bengal fully realisé what has already happened during the comparatively brief period of Sir Charles Elliott's tenure of the Lieutenant-Governorship. If they are men, if they are worthy of their education, if they have any self-respect, and if they prize their liberties, they should at once "boycott" one who has been laughing at their education, deriding their manhood, and playing fast-and-loose with their liberties. If we are silent now and do nothing, Sir Charles Elliott will proceed to still greater tyranny. He has dared issue his Notification at a time when the Liberals are in power in England, thus proving that he has no fear of them or of Parliament. Such a man will do almost anything. Either Sir Charles Elliott must go, or we are gone!—*The Indian Mirror.*

The last week of the last month was a dark one in Bengal. It was signalised by the discharge of a bombshell in the shape of the following notification in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 26th October, 1892. It was not only sudden, but entirely and absolutely unexpected. Notwithstanding any powers reserved in obscure corners of the Statute Book, the country was not prepared to believe that any Government in India under the control of the British Parliament, could surprise a vast British Province of a morning with the withdrawal of a valuable privilege so much prized by Englishmen and enjoyed by our people uninterruptedly for thirty long years. So far from understanding, we find it difficult to realise it. It seems yet a dream. Let us understand the situation on which we are thrown, and take account of profit and loss. The offences declared in 1862 to be triable by jury are 209 in number. The concession is for six. Sir Charles Elliott gives six, while he takes away 91. The balance against him therefore is 124. This is sweeping like a new broom, to be sure, with a vengeance! Nay, he is a patent steam broom which sweeps over vast areas with indiscriminate fury. The next step, we believe, will be, if Sir Charles Elliott is allowed to sweep away, to abolish the courts and try all accused in the Secretariat.—*Reis and Rayyet.*

A heavy blow has been dealt at the jury system in Bengal. A valued privilege exercised for three decades by the people of Bengal is to be snatched away, without any notice whatever. No opinions invited, no time given for discussing the question in public: all on a sudden a resolution is hurried on the head of the people. Down comes the thunderbolt, without even the semblance of clouds. Has the administration of the foremost province of India so much deteriorated that a privilege once granted has to be snatched away? If the privilege was abused, was the Government so dull that for thirty years it could not see this? And who is the best judge of such abuse? Was the High Court consulted? Let that Honourable Court say what proportion does the abusive exercise of power by Indian juries bear to the vagaries and irregularities of European magistrates, resulting in serious miscarriage of justice. We could quote several remarks of High Court judges bearing testimony to the high character of jury trials. But if there were abuses, what system is perfect? Plato's Republic, More's Utopia might be identified with the Indian Civil Service alone. But like all other human systems, the jury system in India with all its abuses is capable of improvement. It is a narrow policy, dictated by utter want of sympathy that cannot reform a system except by exterminating it.—*The Behar Herald.*

In India we have thus, for the first time in the annals of the world, the spectacle of judges administering justice in a country where there are aliens. If this is to be the price required for the blessings of British rule, let it be so. But then, give the people not only the safeguards which you enjoy, but more than what you enjoy, if the judges are to be aliens, and if it is justice that is to be administered. But the district superintendent of police is an alien; so is the chief magistrate; so is the sessions judge. And then the natives need much more than an Englishman does the help of a jury, to guide the alien judges who sit to try them. And yet, this little safeguard has also been taken away from the natives of the soil, and when they cry out, their cry is called a hysterical cry! The *Englishman* calls it "a much needed" reform. But who needed it? The natives of the soil to a man did not need it. So this reform has been thrust down their throats against their will! Where in the world, except in India, has the spectacle been ever seen of reforms being thrust down the throats of the people against their will? The Mussulmans, it is alleged, did thus thrust "much needed reforms" by the force of arms. They, it is alleged by Christian writers, forced their religion upon weaker and subject nations. Now what is the difference between their act and that of Sir Charles Elliott?—*The Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

THE MYSORE REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY.

(Extracted from *The Indian Spectator.*)

The chief event of the Mysore Representative Assembly, held on the 4th instant, was the elaborate address, in which the Dewan, Mr. K. Sheshadri Iyer, gave an account of his last year's or rather fifteen months' administration. We have no space to enumerate the various kinds of reform effected during the year: but measures for famine relief and remission or postponement of revenue require special mention, as in this respect enlightened native States like Mysore compare very favourably with British

administration. It should also be noted that a small State like Mysore expended Rs. 9,06,558 on education, that is about 10 per cent. of the net expenditure, while the British Government's liberality barely reaches one per cent. In conclusion, the Dewan touched upon a proposal, which the last year's assembly had suggested, of prohibiting infant marriages. All the *mutts* consulted have approved of the step; and a law is now under contemplation to prohibit marriages of girls below 8, and of men above 50 with girls below 16, when the latter may be supposed to use their discretion. Such marriages of course will not be void in law, but will be subject to penalties. It would be as foolish to oppose such a wholesome reform as it was impossible for any right-minded person last year to approve of the infamous Scoble Bill. Though apparently similar in being both reform legislations, they really differ as widely as the poles. In one case, the initiative was taken by representatives of the people, and the Dewan now explicitly asks them to give him instructions how he should proceed further; in the other, the Consent Act was forced upon the people against their almost unanimous protest. In one case, the Government is native and fully sympathises with the ideas and prejudices of the people; in the other, it was alien, completely out of touch with the people and usually legislating with total disregard of public opinion. In one case, the proposed law is in accordance with the *shastras*, and the opinion of the spiritual heads; in the other, the former were trampled or perverted, and the latter were ignored. One is a moderate measure, the other was a sweeping law. One is calculated to do immense good, the other has proved, after a year's experience, either mischievous or a dead letter. Lastly, one is a good example of a ripe public opinion being supplemented by law, the other fully illustrated the danger of forcing social reform by thoughtless legislation. We shall not be so cruel as to repeat here the Dewan's passing remark, in which he had a fling at the so called "progressive party of reform," but they will do well to remember his concluding words, in which he insisted on the necessity of observing "great caution" in such matters.—*The Mahratta.*

We are glad that Mysore is free from financial difficulties of any kind. Even the adverse seasons, from which the ryots suffered, have not caused much inconvenience, and although a comparatively small amount of land revenue has had to be remitted, the general elasticity of the various sources of income has continued, and has even yielded a substantial surplus in the accounts of the last year. The province is now in the height of prosperity. In the address delivered by the Dewan to the members of the Representative Assembly, whose usefulness, by the way, is coming to be more and more generally recognised, there is abundant evidence pointing to the sagacity, energy and sympathy with which the administration is conducted. The Dewan's famine campaign last year was attended with unusual success; the public works were pushed forward with unabated energy; the claims of the advancement of education and learning received warm recognition; Abkari and Police departments underwent judicious though moderate change; a regiment of cavalry for Imperial service has been formed at a considerable cost to the State; and lastly, the growing public opinion in favour of a cautious reform in some of our social customs has been paid due deference as befitting a Government served by men who are unsurpassed elsewhere in India for true culture and enlightened patriotism. The energy and earnestness of the Dewan communicated themselves to his lieutenants, and the entire executive of the province, from the Patel to the District officers, showed themselves, we are told, fully equal to the high responsibility placed upon them in being entrusted with the carrying out of the Government's plan of relief. The fame of Mysore, as a progressive and enlightened native State, is rapidly spreading throughout the continent, and is extorting admiration from men who would be only too glad to magnify small faults in Indian administration.—*The Hindu.*

Our readers are aware of the fact that the late Mr. Rungacharlu, the Diwan of Mysore, inaugurated, towards the close of his able administration of the province, an important political reform by constituting a Representative Assembly that holds its meetings in Mysore, during the Dusserah vacation, when the prime minister submits his financial report, and lays before the assembly such schemes of reform as he thinks worthy of discussion by the representatives of the people. According to its practice, the assembly held its sittings in Mysore, during the last Dusserah vacation. In spite of a large remission of revenue on account of scarcity in certain parts of the province, the Diwan was able to show a surplus, which fact was cheered by the assembled representatives. But what has made the last sitting of the assembly memorable, is the resolution on the part of the Mysore Government to treat as criminal all marriages of girls below eight years, and all marriages of old people above fifty to girls below sixteen. The announcement of this resolution was hailed with delight by the assembled representatives—a fact which makes the event still more remarkable. There is no doubt that the resolution will soon take the form of some legislative enactment, and will set an example to the other princes and chiefs.—*The Indian Messenger.*

The Mysore Representative Assembly is a conclusive proof that local self-government can be a perfect success in India. Any failure in the management of a district board or a municipality is often brought forward as an evidence against the capacity of Indians to manage their own public affairs. But such popular institutions can never flourish in India, if they are thwarted by officials, who possess irresistible powers. This is also absolutely certain, that so long as they do not give to the natives of the soil some share in the management of the affairs of the country, the rulers will continue to be troubled with the Russian scare.—*The Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

APPOINTMENT OF MR. MEHTA.—The Junágarh State has done well in securing the services as Judicial Councillor of so eminent a lawyer as Mr. Mehta, and his appointment will doubtless prove a blessing to the subjects of the State.—*The Káthiáwár Times.*

The Voice of England on India:

SELECTIONS FROM THE ENGLISH PRESS ON INDIAN MATTERS.

TRIAL BY JURY IN BENGAL.

It remains to be proved that any alteration was required in criminal procedure. On the face of it there are strong objections to anything of the kind. It has been truly said that in a country like India, a country despotically governed, frequent tampering with the law, whether the institution interfered with be good or evil, is a sign to the people of the fickle temper of the despot. It is true, no doubt, that Sir Charles Elliott, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, regards trial by jury as most unsuitable to Indian conditions. It appears, moreover, that a majority of the officials serving under him are more or less of the same opinion. The Lieutenant-Governor declares that if the result of thirty years' experience could have been foreseen, no advocate would have been found for introducing this Western institution into the country. Yet more solid reasons than this must be adduced to justify the policy of tinkering; and it is not easy to discover such reasons. Juries will at times administer doubtful justice in England; it is hardly wonderful if they are occasionally at fault in Bengal. . . . . What will perhaps strike the English reader as the oddest feature of the situation is the off-hand manner in which alterations can be made in criminal procedure in India—alterations which, though not to be regarded as revolutionary or extensive, are nevertheless sufficiently striking to arouse opposition in the country and more than a faint interest in England. Surely there were ways of preparing public opinion, if not of conciliating it. The measures now resolved on have been contemplated by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and his advisers for the past two years and more; yet the public hears nothing till the orders are actually in the *Gazette*. There are often, in a country like India, measures of State which need to be carried out with promptitude and decision, and without even a pretence of deferring to the popular voice. Nor is it always easy to ascertain beforehand what will be thought and said of a new departure till the reform is in operation. It may be added that the Bengal Government should be very careful just now to avoid any needless irritation of public opinion. Sir Charles Elliott is committed to a policy which will provoke, and is already provoking, the hottest opposition in Bengal. The revenue survey of Behar is regarded with angry suspicion and dislike by an influential class of the community; and it will tax the strength and resources of his Government to the utmost to conduct it to a successful issue.—*St. James's Gazette*, 18th November, 1892.

A system which has been at work for thirty years, which is accustoming large sections of the Indian people to join, as Englishmen do, in the administration of justice, and which has the confidence both of the native public and the Europeans in India, should not have been meddled with unless some imperative necessity had arisen. Nobody contends that any such crisis exists. There is no good reason for the step; there is only the incurable dislike of arbitrary officials for everything which looks in the direction of popular rights. The decree of the Bengal Government is a most mischievous piece of reaction, and it would be a scandal that it should be allowed to succeed when a Liberal Government exists at home. If the Government of Bengal wishes to curtail in any way the growing liberties of the people of India it must wait till a Tory Ministry is again in power. —*The Daily News*, 19th December, 1892.

The abolition of trial by jury in Bengal—carried out as it has been by a stroke of the pen of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Charles Elliott—has created the greatest excitement and indignation throughout India—except, of course, in the most reactionary strata of Anglo-Indian officialism. Trial by jury was instituted in 1862. It was one of the first and most precious steps towards the redemption of the promises made to the people of India on the resettlement of the Government in 1858. That it has been an unqualified success I should be the last to affirm; but to sweep it away at a moment's notice, without reserve or qualification, without public debate or deliberation, in one Presidency only, and that the most wealthy and influential, is at once an insult and an injury to the whole of the people of India. That it is so felt, I have abundant evidence, for I have been literally overwhelmed with communications from India on the subject, and among my correspondents are all sorts and conditions of the Queen's Indian subjects. The matter will call for the attention of a Liberal House of Commons at an early date, and a Ministry which numbers Lord Ripon among its members will not find the proceeding easy to defend.—*Truth*, 8th December, 1892.

No doubt the working of jury trial is, even amongst the race which originated it, far from perfect. One of the judges points out that the judges disapproved of 325 out of 1708 verdicts given in five years; but as they only appealed to the High Court in 114 cases, it may be assumed that only in that number of instances was any glaring injustice done. Taking into account all the intricate complexities of prejudice from race, caste, and creed, the circumstances of the country, and its history, the proportion cannot be considered excessive. That seems to be the view of the judges of the High Court, the majority of whom are for continuing the system, with safeguards. That may be prudent policy for the present. But the main point is that jury trial in India has made good its position. As one of the judges observes, if it does nothing else, the employment of juries tends to spread a knowledge of the criminal law amongst the population. The old saying that he laughs loudest who laughs last, has proved its truth in this as in many another instance. Lord Ripon may well rest content with the present state of the account between himself and his detractors.—*Bradford Observer*, December 10th, 1892.

MR. NAOROJI'S ELECTION.

The satisfaction with which the result in Central Finsbury will be received by Liberals throughout the country will be tempered by the recollection

of all the trouble and annoyance to which Mr. Naoroji has been put, and that he has to bear his own costs. When Captain Penton's counsel saw that their case was hopeless, they did a very wise thing in the interests of their client. They advised him to withdraw the petition on the condition that each side should bear its own costs. Counsel for Mr. Naoroji assented to these terms, and the Court made no objection to the withdrawal of the petition. Thus has ended a legal contest which was watched with considerable interest not only in this country, but in India, where Mr. Naoroji's election to Parliament a few months ago produced a profound impression. Without imputing any want of *bona fides* to Captain Penton, we cannot help saying that his action in lodging the petition, in the first instance, is much to be regretted. The event has shown that he had no sufficient justification for the course he took. Mr. Naoroji won his seat fairly, after a struggle stoutly fought on both sides; and he ought to have been left in undisturbed possession of it. If the petition had gone against him, his Indian fellow-countrymen would have felt his loss as a personal deprivation, and they would have resented his exclusion from Parliament as something in the nature of a national grievance. Mr. Naoroji, it is true, cannot claim to be a delegate of the peoples of India. He is only one member of one of the many races settled in our great dependency; but as he is the first Indian native who has been returned to the Imperial Parliament native Indians of various races naturally look upon him as, in a sense, their representative. They regard his presence in the House of Commons, as Member for an English constituency, as a pledge of the interest taken by the people of this country in the affairs of India. They received the announcement of his election with gratification; and when the result of the petition, by which it was attempted to deprive him of his parliamentary honours, reaches them they will have the additional satisfaction of knowing that the political rights of an Indian are as sacred in the eye of British law as those of any other citizen of the empire.—*The Daily Chronicle*, 15th December, 1892.

It is very gratifying to know that, after a prolonged and searching inquiry, Mr. Naoroji, the Parsee gentleman who represents Central Finsbury, is to keep his seat; but the number of alien voters struck off as disqualified was sufficient to show that Captain Penton was warranted in having the recount, and it seemed at one time that he would be declared elected. The final success of Mr. Naoroji is gratifying for more than party reasons. His disqualification, if that had been necessary, would have been liable to be misconstrued in India, where his election evoked really remarkable enthusiasm.—*The Western Daily Press*, 15th December, 1892.

THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES.

In India the great Universities, while starting as examining bodies, quickly developed a much wider sphere of activity. They grew, in fact, into controlling powers over the whole higher education of the Indian races. They have exercised a dominant influence not only upon the intellectual training, but also upon the character of the educated classes, upon the views which those classes take of life and its duties, and upon the political and social opinion of India in our day. All this they have done, while acknowledging scarcely any responsibility beyond that of testing the intellectual proficiency of candidates for degrees in certain branches of knowledge. By a vast system of affiliated colleges throughout the Indian Empire, in which the course of instruction has practically to follow the University scheme of examinations, by the support which the Indian Universities have obtained from the Government and from munificent native benefactors, and by the excellent work which they have themselves done, the Indian Universities now wield an influence greatly in excess of the responsibilities which they acknowledge, and far beyond the influence exercised in Great Britain by an examining University like that of London.—*The Times*, 29th November, 1892.

AN AMERICAN CONSUL ON INDIA'S GROWING TRADE WITH CHINA.

That the competition of Indian cotton spinners against English traders in the East is no mere phantom is shown by the Annual Report of the Commissioners of Customs at Chinese ports. The tables prove that there has been a remarkable increase in the importation of Indian cotton yarn. Of these goods there was over a million piculs shipped to China in twelve months, the total value of which was estimated at twenty-five million dollars of American money. This sum, it is stated by the United States Consul, exceeds the aggregate value of the year's imports of grey and white sheetings, T cloths, and drills. For some years the Indian cotton manufacturers have been pushing their trade in the East with great activity, and, owing to several causes, are able to supply the goods at a comparatively low rate. The yarn is sent to China in bales containg four hundred pounds, and is delivered in the country at 47.45 dollars in American currency, "a price at which there seems to be no room for competition by American yarns," says the United States Consul at Fuchow. The importation of Indian yarn has therefore gone up by leaps and bounds. For example, in 1890 there was received at Fuchow a little over three hundred piculs of Indian yarn, and in the following year the total had reached nearly three thousand piculs in weight, while in the former year 48 piculs of English yarn was imported, and in 1891 the quantity had increased to only 380 piculs.—*The Manchester Courier*, 17th December, 1892.

FEMALE EDUCATION IN INDIA.

The large and important deputation introduced by Sir William Wedderburn to Lord Kimberley yesterday had apparently but a small favour to ask. It is, however, an encouraging sign of the deep interest taken in female education in India, that a large number of Indian gentlemen representing various castes and races should join with many influential Englishmen and Englishwomen in asking that a school grant of £800 a year may not be stopped. This was the main purport of yesterday's deputation,

and of the memorial it presented. The High School for Native girls at Poona, now carried on as a Government institution, is one of the few successful efforts that are being made in India to spread education among women. Instead of diminishing the grant to this single school, as the Bombay Government proposes, larger grants should be made for women's education. The chief need of India at this moment is the better education of Indian women. Mr. Justice Jardine testified from personal observation to the good which was being done by the Poona school, which he said was unique in India for the great interest taken in it by Indian gentlemen. It was, in fact, as Sir William Hunter said, started by private enterprise, and by the desire of Indian ladies in the district. We trust therefore that the Bombay Government will grant the request so influentially supported, and continue its full support to the school.—*The Daily News*, 23rd December, 1892.

Gossip.

ABOUT PERSONS AND BOOKS.

Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., is much better, but his health is not yet completely restored.

Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, President of the Sixth Indian National Congress, has been appointed Judicial Councillor in the State of Junágarh in Káthiáwár.

Mr. Damodherdas Gordhandas, a Bhattia merchant, is the founder of a free library in the Fort at Bombay.

A bust of Babu Hurro Kumar Tagore, the work of Mr. Gefloski, has arrived, and will probably be publicly unveiled by the Viceroy.

An autobiography of the late Pandit Ishwar Chunder Vidyasagar has just been published by his son.

Sir Alfred Lyall has written an article on "The Land Systems of British India," in the *Law Quarterly Review* for January, 1893.

It is said that the Mahárání of Baroda, who has accompanied the Gáekwár during his tour in England, visited Harrow School with a view to the future education of her young son there.

Babu Surendra Nath Banerji, the editor of the *Bengalee*, has been distinguishing himself by opposing vigorously and eloquently, both by pen and voice, Sir Charles Elliott's retrogade jury policy in Bengal.

Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co. have in the press a "History of India from the earliest times to the "present day for the use of Students and Colleges," by Mr. H. G. Keene, C.I.E.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., has contributed an article on "Britain's Duty to India" to the forthcoming volume entitled "Representative Men on Questions Social and Political."

The Christmas number of the *Strand Magazine* in its series of portraits of celebrities at different periods of their lives, contains three excellent pictures of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., at the age of twenty, at the age of forty-one, and at the present time.

The next volume of "Rulers of India" series will be devoted to the life of Lord Amherst. It will be written by Mr. Richmond T. W. Ritchie from new materials placed at his disposal by the present Lord Amherst.

A propos of the great interest being taken at the present time in Indian folk-lore, a note should be made of the "Indian Nights' Entertainments, or Folk Stories from the Upper Indus," by the Rev. Charles Swynnerton (London: Elliot Stock).

Messrs. W. H. Allen and Co., announce the publication in February of "India's Princes: Short "Life Sketches of the Native Rulers of India," with 22 portraits and other illustrations, which is certain to attract much attention.

Mr. John Murray announces as a volume of his University Extension Series, a small book by Sir Alfred Lyall, K.C.B., on "The Rise of the British "Dominion in India from the early days of the East "India Company to the conquest of the Punjab."

Messrs. Macmillan & Co. will publish, early in the new year, "Memoirs of My Indian Career," by the late Sir George Campbell. It will be in two volumes, illustrated with a portrait and a map.—*The Academy*.

The January number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* opens with a striking article on "Russianised "Officialism in India," by Sir William Wedderburn, followed by a contribution "Our Indian "Trans-Frontier Expeditions, their aim and their "result," by Mr. J. Dacosta.

The last number of the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* deals with the art industries of the Madras Presidency. In the next number of India further attention will be called to this most valuable work, and to the bounden duty of the Indian people to support it adequately.

The next volume of Constable's *Oriental Miscellany* will be a reprint of Broughton's "Letters from a Mahratta Camp," written during 1809, with an introduction by Sir M. E. Grant Duff, formerly Governor of Madras, and son of the historian of the Maráthás.

"Bombay and Western India," by James Douglas (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co.), is a particularly handsome volume, dedicated to the

Duke and Duchess of Connaught, and should meet with a hearty reception in the Presidency to which it is devoted.

IN the *Athenæum* for 17th December, one of the most competent authorities in England, who betrays his identity in a characteristic sentence, reviews very favourably the new Persian-English Dictionary of Dr. F. Steingass, which has recently been issued by Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co.

MR. ALEXANDER RUSSELL WEBB, formerly United States' Consul at Manilla, has been addressing large meetings of Muhammadans in India. In a recent lecture at Bombay he announced that "he was sure "that the people of America, which was an en-"lightened and progressive country, would readily "embrace Muhammadanism."

IN its article on "Indian Affairs" for 29th November, the *Times* gives a sketch of the history of Sanskrit lexicography, and bestows high praise on the Sanskrit-English Dictionary, compiled by Mr. A. A. Macdonell, Deputy-Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, and just published by Messrs. Longman and Co., as supplying adequately a long-felt want.

MR. EARDLEY NORTON was assaulted at Allahábád, on 7th November, by two horsemen in disguise, when on his way home, after addressing a public meeting in favour of the Congress. Fortunately he was not hurt. It is generally believed that the attack was due to Mr. Norton's taking part as counsel in the Mehdi Hassan defamation case, not to his prominent position as a supporter of the Congress.

MR. CROPPER has generously founded a perpetual scholarship of £50 a year at the Edinburgh School of Medicine for Women, for Indian ladies desirous of coming to Europe to study medicine. The first holder of this scholarship is Miss Rose Govindurajulu, who has already obtained her diploma in medicine at Madras. The Madras Government have given her a yearly grant to meet the remainder of her expenses.

MESSRS. CURSETJI SORABJI AND CO., of Bombay have made arrangements for chartering a first class steamer for Hindu passengers who may wish to visit the Chicago Exhibition next year. Bráhman cooks and Hindu servants will be engaged, no animal will be killed on board the steamer and every possible care will be taken to respect all religious scruples.

ALL interested in Indian antiquities should endeavour to see a recent elaborate work of which the title indicates the importance: "Sanchi and its "Remains; a full description of the Ancient Build-"ings, Sculptures, and Inscriptions at Sanchi, near "Bhilsa, in Central India, with remarks on the "evidence they supply as to the comparatively "modern date of the Buddhism of Gotama or Sakya "Muni," by the late Major-General F. C. Maisey, and an introductory note by Major-General Sir Alex. Cunningham, K.C.I.E. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co.)

By far the most important forthcoming work on India is the new edition of Sir W. W. Hunter's "Indian Empire." That storehouse of facts has now been for some time out of date. The new edition will have the advantage of embodying the results of the census of 1891 in the administrative, commercial, and economic chapters, and the historical portion has been brought thoroughly up to date and in part rewritten by the light of recent researches into Hindu and Muhammadan history, and from the new materials afforded by the official publication of the Indian records under the able editorship of Mr. Forrest and others. The Secretary of State for India has recognised the importance of this great work, and has placed the necessary materials and assistance at Sir William Hunter's disposal to enable him to carry out the work of revision. The volume will be published by Messrs. W. H. Allen and Co., in the spring.

THE "Memorials of Old Haileybury," the publication of which has been undertaken by Messrs. Archibald Constable and Co., on the invitation of Sir Monier Monier-Williams and Mr. Percy Wigram, the survivors of the four joint editors, is now in the press. Sir Monier has contributed reminiscences of his student and professorial days, and of his colleagues, and the official staff. Mr. F. C. Danvers has written a comprehensive account of the origin of the East India Company's Civil Service, and of their establishment at Hertford. Mr. Percy Wigram and the late Mr. Brand Sapte have compiled a list of the Covenanted Civil Servants of India educated at Haileybury, and of other officials connected with the Indian Government, and also a brief record of the active services of Haileyburians during the Mutiny in 1857-58. Sir Steuart C. Bayley has written the section devoted to the College literature and societies; and the volume will be fully illustrated with portraits, views, maps, and reprints of several interesting documents. It is being printed by Messrs. Stephen Austin and Sons—a firm that has been associated with the College since its foundation—and will be issued, probably, in May next. The Queen has accepted the dedication.

Messrs. Constable and Co. have also in preparation a companion volume, 'Memorials of Old Addiscombe,' which is devoted to the chronicles of the military college of the H.E.I.C. They have received much hitherto unpublished material for the work from many sources, and are arranging for the collection of more before issuing a prospectus.—*The Athenæum*.

It is a significant fact that the last volume of the lamented Poet Laureate should bear upon its title-page the words "The Death of Œnone, Akbar's Dream, and other Poems," for it shows that the poet regarded the second poem as representative. Tennyson, indeed, never lost his longing for "the palms and temples of the East" and to the end of his life showed the profoundest interest in India, her history and her people. When he designed to write a poem on Akbar, he set to work, like an

historian, to master the intricate problems presented by the character and career of that great ruler. Through his life-long friend, the Master of Balliol, he obtained the best books on the subject from Sir W. W. Hunter. And he made good use of his studies. For Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad, whose article on the Queen's Hindustani diary, in the *Strand Magazine*, I refer to elsewhere, says: "The "late Lord Tennyson was a great admirer of oriental "literature. . . . . His admiration led him to the "study of the Persian language, which task, as he "regretfully expressed to me, he had to give up "because of the weakness of his sight. During my "visit to him at Farringford, I was much surprised "to find in his library translations of eminent "Persian authors. He himself showed me with "much delight the work of Abul Fazl, a book which "he highly valued." Throughout India general regret was expressed at Tennyson's death, and the native papers showed a surprisingly extensive and appreciative knowledge of his poetry. Mr. Malabari, of Bombay, has given an account of a visit he paid to the poet two years ago, and says that Tennyson seemed "to know much more about India than "he was given credit for." The Indian Students' Association of Edinburgh sent a letter of condolence to the poet's family, and at the last meeting Mr. Sarat Mullick, the secretary, read the reply received from Lady and the Hon. Hallam Tennyson.

A public dinner was given to Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., followed by an address, at Kilmarnock on 10th December, by the Liberals of North Ayrshire, in commemoration of the gallant fight he made for the seat in Parliament for that division at the last general election. Much enthusiasm was shown by those present which was creditable alike to the defeated candidate and his supporters. Sir William has so thoroughly identified himself with the cause of Indian reform, that it must have been especially gratifying to him to find his services in that field thoroughly appreciated by his friends in North Ayrshire. "We deeply regret," it is stated in the address, "the disappointment to you person- "ally, and this feeling is deepened when we "remember how much your friends and sympa- "thisers in India hoped from your presence in "Parliament." Mr. R. W. Knox of Moorpark, who presided at the dinner, further emphasized this point in making the presentation, when he said: "I "wish personally to say that in you the electors of "North Ayrshire found a man of noble aspirations, "of high and generous sympathies, of cultivated "intelligence and enlightened zeal, of a firm will, "and of continued and constant effort for the good "of your fellow-men, and they found they had the "same man whom the people of India, after 27 "years of personal and intimate acquaintance, sent "to us with showers of blessings on his head." It is to be hoped that after this expression of confidence, the Liberals of North Ayrshire will make a further and a successful effort, at the next election, to return the Chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress to the House of Commons, where he could do so much good for the cause of Indian Reform.

The syllabus of the present session of Edinburgh Indian Students' Association has been sent to me. The programme curiously resembles that of a college debating or literary society at Oxford and Cambridge. Besides specially Indian questions, such as the desirability of a gold currency for India, that early marriage is prejudicial to progress, and that widow re-marriage is a desideratum in India, old friends familiar to every past member of a college society have their day, and Socialism, State Religion, and the merits of Republican Government are put down for discussion. It is especially noteworthy that men of some standing seem to take an active part in the proceedings, for three Bachelors of Arts and one Bachelor of Medicine are put down as opening debates or reading papers.

SCHEME OF AN INDIAN MONTHLY BIBLIOGRAPHY.

One of the greatest difficulties in dealing with Indian history and with Indian matters generally is the absence of any accessible bibliography. It is proposed therefore to publish every month in India a list of books published on Indian subjects. This can only be done by the co-operation of publishers in the United Kingdom and in India. I therefore appeal to all English and Indian publishers to assist me by sending me copies of all their publications relating to India. If they do not wish for a review or lengthy notice, they will greatly oblige by sending me the title of such works with a note on their contents. No book or pamphlet will be left unrecorded, as the chief value of such a bibliography as I propose is its completeness. I beg in particular to draw the attention of Indian authors and publishers to this appeal. A competent staff of gentlemen skilled in all the vernacular languages will assist me in supplying notes on the contents of their publications, and I hope to print from time to time general reviews on the progress of literature in the different Provinces and in the various vernaculars.

But my scheme is not confined to books. Some of the most valuable contributions on India appear in the periodical literature issued in the United Kingdom and India. The *Review of Reviews* has done good service in calling attention to the importance of periodicals, and in recording their contents. I propose to undertake a similar task and to catalogue all articles on Indian subjects appearing in this form, if editors of reviews, magazines, etc., will assist me.

Such a bibliography will entail much labour, and must necessarily be tentative. But I intend to index my monthly bibliographies annually, and in the index I hope to insert the titles of such works as may have missed my attention during the month of publication. This annual index will be issued in separate form at the offices of India, and sold separately.

H. Morse Stephens.

21st December, 1892.

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